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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A COMPARISON OF A CONTEXTUAL USAGE OF SELECTED SECONDARY AND SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES IN RUSSIAN: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

by

MONIKA A. LOZINSKA ©

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A COMPARISON OF A CONTEXTUAL USAGE OF SELECTED SECONDARY AND SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES IN RUSSIAN: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY submitted by MONIKA A. LOZINSKA in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Slavic Linguistics.

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October 1, 1992
Date

DEDICATION

To my Father who would have been very
proud of me if He could have been with us.

ABSTRACT

This thesis compares and contrasts the contextual usage of Russian simplex and secondary imperfective verbs based on the results gathered from an experiment conducted with Russian-speaking informants.

Most linguists agree that the imperfective aspect in Russian denotes three major situational types: progressivity, durativity and iterativity. They disagree, however, on whether these three meanings are inherently expressed in the verbs or are dependent on contextual factors. While some aspectologists argue that the progressive and the iterative meanings are inherent in the simplex and secondary imperfectives, respectively, others claim that these three readings are completely dependent on context. Moreover, aspectologists also disagree on the meanings of suffixal imperfectives and their relation to basic imperfectives.

The experiment was designed to test the contextual usage of the morphological imperfective forms in Russian. Six simplex imperfectives selected for this investigation and eighteen secondary imperfectives derived through prefixation were placed in appropriate adverbial contexts. Seven native speakers of Russian served as subjects. They were asked to rank each sentence on a three-point acceptability scale.

An analysis of variance was performed to analyze the data collected from the experiment. The high-order three-way interaction among Verb roots, Prefixes and Contexts was of particular importance to this thesis since it bears most strongly on the hypotheses regarding cooccurrence restrictions for Verb roots and Prefixes in relation to each

Context. The major finding of this thesis is the extremely strong VxPxC interaction which contradicts global generalizations on the contextual usage of verbs which are found in the literature. Great variations of acceptability values for all prefix-verb root combinations suggest that each verb should be discussed on individual basis. The variation of acceptability values has strong implications on the aspectual pairing of verbs. The data suggest that some verbs will have a tendency to be paired with simplex, others with secondary imperfectives, and yet others will enter a ternary aspectual relationship.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The majority of Russian verbs appear in both the perfective ("sovershennyj") and imperfective ("nesovershennyj") aspects, with the exception of uni- (*perfectiva* , e.g., *stoit'*, and *imperfectiva* , e.g., *zaxrapet'*, *tantum*) and bi-aspectual verbs (e.g., *kaznit', zhenit'sja*). Verbs can thus be combined into aspectual pairs consisting of an unprefixed ("bespristavochnyj") imperfective and a prefixed ("pristavochnyj") perfective verb (e.g., *delat'/sdelat'*). Some aspectologists combine verbs into triplets ("trojki") consisting of a primary ("pervichnyj") imperfective verb, a prefixed perfective verb and a secondary ("vtorichnyj") imperfective verb, (e.g., *merznut'/ zamerznut'/zamerzat'*), or even quadruplets consisting of a simplex imperfective verb, a frequentative verb, a prefixed perfective verb and semelfactive verb (e.g., *krichat'/krikivat'/pokrichat'/kriknut'*). However, the validity of triplets, quadruplets and of certain pairs is often questioned since they are considered to combine forms expressing both aspectuality and the so-called Aktionsarten or Modes of Action ("sposoby dejstvija") which are considered to be lexical or "sub-lexical" meanings. Therefore, according to some aspectologists, it is necessary to distinguish the grammatical category of aspect from the semantic category of Aktionsart, otherwise known as "procedural forms" or "nuances", which are introduced in the verb by means of prefixes and/or suffixes (Bondarko 1967:21). Semantically, Aktionsarten are concerned with "the degree to which the action itself develops, or the development or extension of the action in time" (Forsyth 1970:20). Brecht (1985:15) refers to Aktionsarten as situations in which the verb focuses on one element of a situation, such as its beginning, conclusion, a limited time of its duration. Because these definitions are very close to those proposed for aspect in general, sometimes aspect and Aktionsarten are distinguished on purely formal grounds. Aktionsarten are morphologically and functionally less regular and encompass less of the verbal lexicon than aspect, which encompasses the entire verbal system in Russian. It is the aspectual nature of the triplets and secondary, otherwise known as derived or suffixal, imperfective verbs, in particular, that this thesis will focus on, i.e., on the relationship between forms such as *delit'* I - *razdelit'* P - *razdeljat'* I.

According to aspectologists, both the simplex (unprefixed) and derived (prefixed) imperfective verbs belong to the same aspect whereas the range of the specific meanings of these two forms differs quite significantly. The incapacity of simplex imperfectives to express certain nuances of meaning that are present in the prefixed perfective derivatives led to the formation of secondary imperfectives. Thus, the question arises: what is the difference between the meanings of basic and derived imperfectives? This thesis will attempt to compare and contrast the two morphological types of the imperfective aspect in Russian with respect to their major functions based on the results gathered from an experiment conducted with Russian informants.

Most linguists agree that the Russian imperfective aspect denotes three major situational types: progressivity ("processnost'"), durativity ("dlitel'nost'"), and iterativity ("mnogokratnost'") (Comrie 1976:25; Forsyth 1970:4-5; Rassudova 1984:14-15; Spagis 1969:258).

Progressivity is regarded by the majority of linguists as the most fundamental meaning of primary imperfective verbs. Iterativity, on the other hand, is considered to be the central meaning of all (Russell 1985:61) or some (Forsyth 1970:28) secondary imperfective verbs. Russell (1985:61) claims that secondary imperfective verbs always have the iterative meaning. If they occur in either progressive or durative context, they are always accompanied by the iterative meaning as well. In other words, the progressive and durative contexts are not independent for secondary imperfectives. Therefore, the main hypotheses to be tested in this thesis deal with the use of simplex and secondary imperfective verbs in the progressive and iterative contexts.

For the purpose of this study, an experiment was designed in which eighteen secondary imperfective verbs were derived from six primary imperfective verbs (*delit'*, 'to divide', *gruzit'*, 'to load', *kopat'*, 'to dig', *lit'*, 'to pour', *pisat'*, 'to write', *pet'*, 'to sing') through the addition of three prefixes (*vy-*, *pere-*, *raz-*). The basic imperfectives were chosen from a list of most frequently used verb roots in scientific Russian (see Holden 1976) in such a way that the secondary imperfectives derived from them would represent three distinct morphological types, namely verbs containing the suffixes: *-va-*, *-iva-/ -yva* , and *-a-/-ja-*. The selected prefixes, in the majority of their uses, denote basic spatio-temporal relationships, and occasionally reveal slight possibilities for modal meanings. When attached to the chosen simplex imperfectives, they all give rise to secondary imperfectives. In order to determine whether the derivation of a secondary imperfective verb from a given prefixed perfective verb is possible, a number of Russian dictionaries (Academy Dictionary 1950-65; Evgen'ev *et al.* 1957-60; Evgen'ev *et al.* 1981-83; Ozhegov 1989; Ushakov 1935-40) and verb handbooks (Andreyeva-Georg and Tolmacheva 1975; Spagis 1969) were consulted.

It has been shown in many studies that aspect interacts with other grammatical categories, therefore, it is impossible to analyze the meanings of verbs in isolation. Townsend wrote:

> Everything in language is context-bound, and grammatical categories are no exception. Aspect usage, . . . in particular, is affected by all circumstances applying to the utterance, both nonlinguistic and linguistic. (1985:286)

The three meanings of the imperfective aspect of interest to the study - progressive, durative, and iterative - are considered to be completely dependent on the context, especially in the past tense (Bondarko 1971b:11-15; Forsyth 1970:4). Therefore, the two morphological forms of the imperfective aspect needed to be placed into appropriate contexts in order to determine their cooccurrence restrictions and to investigate the differences between their meanings in these contexts.

Initially each context included the following: a singular subject, a simplex or derived imperfective verb, a singular or plural direct object, a quantifier on the direct object, a prepositional phrase of location and three temporal adverbials or adverbial phrases: progressive, durative, and iterative. The singularity and plurality of the object were felt necessary for the testing of iterativity. The quantifier was needed to distinguish between *qualificational* and *quantificational* aspectual readings. However, in pilot studies it was realized that placing a quantifier on the direct object created a redundant context, i.e., a second context in which the direct object was morphologically marked for plurality. Therefore, the quantifier was eliminated from the investigation. Furthermore, due to the strong incorporation in the prefixes of prepositions employed in a prepositional phrase of location, it was frequently impossible to determine whether a prepositional phrase was required by the object or by the prefix in the verb itself, i.e., whether the location was a source or a goal (e.g., *Mama vylivala bodu iz bochki.* 'Mother was pouring the water out of the barrel.'). Consequently, it was decided to completely eliminate the prepositional phrase of location from the context. In the final experimental questionnaire each context included: a subject, a simplex or derived imperfective verb, a singular or plural object, and one of the three temporal adverbials or adverbial phrases: progressive, durative, and iterative. All the verbs were put in the past tense forms in order to avoid ambiguities associated with various modal meanings introduced by the present tense.

Each sentence in the experimental questionnaire was then ranked by seven native speakers of Russian as either acceptable, questionable, or unacceptable. The informants came from mainland Russia as well as Ukraine, and have been exposed to the English-speaking environment for no longer than ten years.

Throughout this investigation, I will refer to Vendler's (1967) semantic typology of verbs as a model for the classification of Russian verbs. Vendler classified English verbs first according to their occurrence in continuous forms into two categories. He further subdivided the verbs appearing in the progressive form into *activities* (e.g., *running, walking, swimming*) and *accomplishments* (e.g., *painting a picture, reading a book, building a house*), and the ones not appearing in the progressive form into *states* (e.g., *love, know, feel*) and *achievements* (e.g., *win the race, recognize, lose*). Verbs denoting *achievements* and *accomplishments* are goal-oriented, otherwise known as telic[1], while the ones denoting *states* and *activities* are not, i.e., the action conveyed by them does not involve the attainment of a goal. One should bear in mind that these four classes are not discrete categories with fixed boundaries (although many subsequent linguists have taken them to be such), and one and the same verb may denote a number of meanings depending on the context in which it occurs. Thus, Vendler allowed shifting of verbs, together with the entire predicate, from category to category.

Vendler proposes the following definitions for the above categories: *states* are nondynamic situations without natural conclusions that "last for a period of time" (103) and "involve time instants in an indefinite and nonunique sense" (107); *activities* are dynamic "processes going on in time . . . [which] consist of successive phases following one another in time" (99); *achievements* "occur at a single moment" and express abrupt changes (103); and *accomplishments* are processes that "imply the notion of unique and definite time periods" (107) and that "proceed towards a terminus which is logically necessary to their being what they are" (101). Along with increasing telicity, i.e., goalorientedness, the transitivity of sentences increases, and along with decreasing telicity, their intransitivity increases.

---

[1] The term 'telic' was first used by Garey in his work "Verbal Aspect in French" published in Language 33 (1957), 91-110 (Brecht 1985:9). It is derived from Greek 'telos' meaning 'goal'.

It is accepted that in Russian telicity is usually associated with the perfective aspect, and atelicity with the imperfective. Thus, *achievements* and *accomplishments* are more likely to be found in the perfective aspect, and *states* and *activities* - in the imperfective. This correlation between aspect and telicity is the result of the traditional definition of the perfective aspect which stresses the notion of completion vs. noncompletion expressed by the imperfective aspect. On the other hand, secondary imperfective verbs are known to denote telic situations as well, thus rendering the correlation less than perfect.

Various theoretical approaches towards the category of aspect presented in this thesis employ Vendler's terminology, especially in the discussion related to the occurrence of secondary imperfective verbs denoting *accomplishments* in the progressive and durative contexts, and secondary imperfective verbs denoting *achievements* in the iterative context. Among other things, two views will be challenged in this thesis: the first one deals with the classification of verbs denoting telic events into *accomplishments* and *achievements* as two distinct categories; the second one deals with specifying the most frequent context - progressive, durative, iterative - for each of the two classes on the basis of their semantic properties as opposed to context in which they are found.

The remainder of the thesis is composed of four parts. The second chapter addresses a variety of issues associated with the category of aspect and secondary imperfective verbs in particular. It presents different theoretical approaches towards aspect and its main functions. As a result, a general definition of aspect is formulated for purposes of this study. Moreover, the nature of aspectual oppositions and various ways of viewing imperfectivity, depending upon the adopted approach, are discussed. Because this thesis is concerned only with the imperfective aspect, the functions and meanings of the perfective aspect are not discussed. Included in this chapter are a description of the derivational processes, derivational restrictions, morphology, meanings and functions of the derived secondary imperfective verbs from various theoretical positions. The second chapter concludes with a discussion of the process of verbal prefixation in relation to aspectual pairing.

In the third chapter, the methodology of the experiment is presented in detail. Also included in this chapter are the proposed hypotheses to be tested in the experiment. In the fourth chapter, an analysis of the experimental data is conducted including basic mathematical calculations as well as statistical tests, and a discussion of the observed patterns. I present there the observed consistency of evaluation of secondary imperfective verbs in particular contexts in comparison with that of simplex imperfective verbs. The results of the experiment are related to the proposed hypotheses in the concluding chapter. The final chapter also includes suggestions for future research and discusses problems associated with the experiment.

The international scholarly system for the transliteration of Russian will be used throughout for all Russian examples and relevant Russian terminology, with the exception of sh, ch, shch, and zh. The system is used by linguists and literary scholars specializing in Russian and Slavic Studies, and is basically that employed by the Library of Congress.

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS ASPECT ?

2.1. Defining Aspect

Before any investigation in the field of aspect[2] in Russian can begin, the meaning of aspect should be established. A simplified version of the definition of this highly complex category could be the following: aspect is a grammatical category usually associated with the verb which is concerned with the development of action in time ("protekanije dejstvija"), and, in Russian, is expressed by two grammatical forms, i.e., the perfective and the imperfective. Its main function is to "express particular meanings associated with the characteristic features of an action" (Rassudova 1984:11). As a linguistic category, aspect is affected by a number of linguistic and speech factors (the lexical meaning of the verb or the meaning of the tense and mood, what the speaker wants or has to convey) that determine which aspect is used in a particular utterance (Avilova 1976:5; Rassudova 1984:11, 19-21).

A number of approaches have been taken towards the category of aspect, and a great variety of definitions of aspect and its functions may be found among linguists. Though they all agree on the existence of aspect, no agreement has been reached so far "as to what aspect is"

---

[2] 'Aspect' is a French term and was first employed by C.P. Reich to translate the Russian term 'vid' used by Grech for the perfective and imperfective aspects. It has been used internationally to describe the study of aspect since the 1930s (Maslov 1985:1).

(Townsend 1985:294). The definitions of aspect range from broad and general to narrow and concrete.

Part of the problem of general definitions is that they try to account for all the aspectual meanings (such as completion, duration, repetition of an action) as well as non-aspectual meanings (such as naming of the action) of both perfective and imperfective forms, together with the lexical interaction of verbs and situations that they denote. The definitions thus tend to be somewhat abstract and vague such as that formulated by Holt:

> Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. (quoted in Comrie 1976:3)

or by Peshkovskiy who defines aspect as a set of meanings which "show how the verbal action develops or is distributed in time" (quoted in Maslov 1985:3). Forsyth also claims that aspect is concerned with how the action develops in time (1970:356). Bondarko (1971b:4-5) maintains that the main function of aspect is viewing, in different ways, the development of an action with respect to its completion/noncompletion, progressivity/nonprogressivity and other semantic properties. He distinguishes between the grammatical (morphological) category of aspect and the functional-semantic category of aspectuality of which aspect is a sub-class. Aspect together with Aktionsarten, adverbs and syntactic structures are the formal expression ("plan vyrazhenija") of this higher semantic level (1967:21). Maslov (1985:6-14) distinguishes between two major groups of aspectual meanings and calls them *qualitative* and *quantitative* aspectuality. *Qualitative* aspectuality is based on extra-linguistic reality and depends on our consciousness, or as

Maslov puts it, it is "refracted by consciousness" (1985:7). It is concerned with a number of semantic oppositions, such as dynamic vs. static, limited action directed towards a goal vs. non-limited action not directed towards a goal, and limited action which reaches its goal vs. action directed towards a goal but in the phase when the goal has not yet been reached. *Quantitative* aspectuality, on the other hand, is concerned with viewing a particular action or state in terms of its iterativity, durativity, and intensity. The meanings of quantitative aspectuality are expressed by lexical, word-forming, morphological and syntactical terms, or "by the combination of several means on different levels" (1985:16). Maslov observes that "the meanings of quantitative aspectuality combine with qualitative aspectual meanings, modifying them in certain ways" (1985:17). He proposes the following definition of the aspectual meanings:

> Aspectual meanings reflect some . . . qualitative description by the speaker of the action denoted by the verb, from the point of view of the development and distribution of this action in time, but without reference to the moment of speech. (1985:4)

On the other hand, there are highly concrete definitions of aspect based on prototypical and restricted actions. These establish strict categorial boundaries, and do not allow for the overlapping of aspects thus not allowing for the overlapping of the functions and meanings associated with them. A good example of a narrow definition may be found in the Academy Grammar (1960):

> The category of aspect indicates that the action expressed by the verb is presented: (a) in its course, in process of its

> performance, *consequently* in its duration or repetition . . . (imperfective); (b) as something restricted, concentrated at some action or the moment of its completion or result . . . (perfective). (quoted in Forsyth 1970:3)

Mourelatos (1981:199) limits the function of aspect to encoding of patterns of frequency or habituality.

The above definitions provide the basic meanings and usages of both aspects. However, they ignore a whole range of more pragmatic/ discourse meanings and functions of aspects as well as language irregularities and abnormalities. The discourse function of the aspectual opposition involves grounding of texts. The backgrounded or old information is usually expressed by the imperfective aspect while the foregrounded, new information is usually expressed by the perfective aspect (Chvany 1985:267; Hopper 1979:216), although cases of the violation of this correlation are quite frequently encountered. According to Bybee (1985:21), the discourse use of aspect does not alter the basic meaning of the verb, but only changes its relation to the discourse unit.

2.1.1. Discussion

Besides suffering from "overgenerality" and "overconcreteness", the definitions of aspect are frequently unduly influenced by the lexical meaning of verbs. They attempt to explain one aspect only by contrasting it with the other, and they tend to ignore the modalities and discourse functions brought about by the extensive contexts in which a given verb is found. These approaches fail to account, among other things, for the specific functions and meanings of the secondary imperfective verbs as opposed to simplex imperfective verbs - a topic which has not been given as much attention as it deserves considering the great number of secondary imperfective verbs encountered in the language. Only recently, in the last twenty years, has more emphasis been devoted to the analysis of these verbs. The binary approach to the aspectual system, which excludes the existence of purely aspectual triplets and quadruplets, has resulted in excluding either a basic or derived imperfective form from the aspectual paradigm.

It is evident that with the variety of views on the meanings and functions of aspect, it is impossible to formulate one definition accounting for all the properties of aspect. The complexity of the category is best expressed by Maslov in his definition of aspectology:

> Aspectology has been defined . . . as the study of not only of the grammatical categories of verbal aspect . . . in the narrow sense, but of features contiguous with aspect, i.e. as the study of the whole functional-semantic field of aspectuality, the whole sphere aspectual meanings, whatever form their expression may take in any given language. (1985:38)

With regard to the imperfective aspect, the literature currently available deals, almost exclusively, with the simplex imperfective verbs (with the exception of a few works of the last twenty years as well as works devoted to the issue of pairing verbs). I summarize below some of the views representing both Slavic and non-Slavic linguistic schools.

2.2. The Nature of Aspectual Oppositions and the Notion of Imperfectivity

Linguists encounter a variety of problems when defining the notion of imperfectivity and even more so when dealing with aspectual oppositions. Most aspectologists agree that the imperfective aspect is not as easily definable as the perfective since, as the unmarked aspect, it covers a broader variety of meanings and is heavily dependent on context (Forsyth 1070:4; Rassudova 1984:14, 24; Spagis 1969:9).

On the whole, there exist two standard types of definitions of aspect, both treating the imperfective/perfective forms as a certain kind of opposition: one views it as equipollent ("ekvipolentnaja") or polar, the other as a privative ("privatyvnaja") opposition. Both notions come originally from phonological theory. Below I present the definitions of the imperfective which reflect both theoretical approaches.

The traditional, privative approach has been adopted by Jakobson (1984b:3), Isachenko (discussed in Thelin 1978:110), and Forsyth (1970:347-50). It is also the approach represented by the Russian Academy (Academy Grammar 1970:337). Trubetzkoy defines a privative opposition as an opposition in which one member exhibits a particular feature which is absent in the other member (Avilova 1976:27). The 1970 Academy Grammar defines the category of aspect in terms of an aspectual opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspects with the former one indicating an action which reaches its limit, and the latter one lacking this indication. Thus, verbs in the imperfective aspect are characterized by a lack of a semantic property that verbs in the perfective aspect possess (1970:337). Forsyth defines the perfective aspect as one denoting an attainment of a juncture and the imperfective as one not referring to this attainment. He sees the category of aspect in terms of an opposition in which "meanings are inclusive within a single sphere of aspectual meanings" and it is the imperfective aspect that encompasses the meanings of the perfective aspect (1970:6). In this approach, the imperfective aspect is always viewed as an unmarked ("nemarkirovannyj") category with the perfective aspect being marked ("markirovannyj"). Accordingly, these definitions consider the imperfective aspect to be the unmarked or weak ("slabyj") member of the opposition[3] (Forsyth 1970:14, 29; Jakobson 1984b:3; Kuchera 1981:181; Rassudova 1984:14-15; Academy Grammar 1970:338). According to Jakobson, the unmarked category "functions . . . as the representative of a correlational pair" and the marked member must contain some element that is absent in the unmarked member (1984b:11). Bondarko attributes the unmarkedness of the imperfective aspect to the fact that it lacks a permanent semantic property (1971b:20). Some linguists argue, however, that the theory of markedness/unmarkedness is too relative to make such a rigid assumption, viz. that the imperfective is always the unmarked member of the opposition (Comrie 1976:118; Townsend 1985:286). Townsend argues that

> a grammatical category such as aspect is not necessarily characterized by a single marked-unmarked opposition; rather, there is a hierarchy of oppositions and,

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[3] The notion of 'markedness' was first introduced into linguistics by phonologists of the Prague School. Jakobson (1932) introduced the term in the discussion of aspectual opposition (Comrie 1976:111).

> furthermore, within this hierarchy under certain circumstances the unmarked category may acquire marked status. (1985:286)

Thus, markedness may depend on a broader linguistic and nonlinguistic context (Comrie 1976:118). Some linguists claim that the imperfective aspect is marked morphologically, while the perfective is marked semantically (although prefixed perfectives which are paired with simplex imperfectives are also marked morphologically).

Comrie states that the imperfective aspect "looks at the situation from inside" (1976:4) and it is concerned with the internal temporal structure of the situation, such as duration or phasal sequences "since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation" (1976:4). He divides verbs in the imperfective aspect into two distinct groups, viz. into those denoting habituality and those denoting continuity which he otherwise calls durativity. Consequently, he sees progressivity as a subdivision of durativity (1976:4, 16, 24, 41).

Although still within the privative approach, Forsyth presents a significantly different view on the function and meanings of the imperfective aspect. He claims that its essential function is to name the type of action, in other words to identify it lexically, "without any reference to totality, frequency, mode of procedure etc." (1970:349). Forsyth argues that the other meanings of the imperfective aspect are derived from the type of action the verb denotes. Consequently, he admits the meaning of continuous action and repeated action among the meanings of the imperfective aspect. But he points out that they are not "inherent in the imperfective verb" (1970:5). The two meanings depend completely on context and adverbs in particular. This is especially clear in cases where the lexical meaning of the given verb conveys progressivity or state, while the notion of the repetition is conveyed exclusively by the accompanying adverbs. Therefore, there is no justification for presenting continuity and repetition as the major meanings of the imperfective aspect (1970:4-6, 348-9). Spagis (1969:251, 357) also argues that the imperfective verbs convey two types of meanings: aspectual and non-aspectual. The latter constitute naming the type of action. Like Forsyth, Spagis claims that this is the main function and meaning of the imperfective aspect while aspectual meanings such as repetition and duration are secondary and are not present in the verb *per se* but are expressed by the verb with the help of the context in which it occurs.

Maslov distinguishes three contextual meanings of the imperfective aspect: the concrete-processual meaning, the indefinite-iterative meaning, and the general-factual meaning (Rassudova 1984:16). The first two correspond to progressivity and iterativity, respectively, the latter to naming an event without reference to its completion (which is related to the lexical identification of the action function put forward by Forsyth (1970) and Spagis (1969)).

This traditional position has been questioned by a number of scholars. Thelin sees the most serious problem of the privative approach in its attempts to encode "in one single opposition the entire complex aspect semantics" (1978:111). He claims that the complexity of aspectual meanings can only be accounted for by a "hierarchical order", such as equipollent opposition (1978:111).

The equipollent approach views the perfective and imperfective aspects as two distinct, separate, positive, neither marked nor unmarked, oppositional categories (Forsyth 1970:348). This approach has been taken by Avilova (1976:28), Bondarko (1971b), Rassudova (1984:14-15, 23), Townsend (1985:288).

Rassudova claims that the imperfective aspect denotes an unbounded action, i.e., an action without any special limitation, and it is the exclusive aspect to convey "unrestricted progress of action" (1984:15). Progressivity "could be considered the basic meaning of the [imperfective] because it is the inherent meaning of the [imperfective]" (Rassudova 1984:17); however, it can only be expressed contextually (1984:31). The imperfective aspect is also associated with the notion of repeated and, less frequently, of single actions. In fact, in some instances Rassudova claims that the most essential property of the imperfective aspect is the "basic grammatical means of expressing repeated action" (Rassudova 1984:14-17).

Townsend calls the imperfective aspect the aspect denoting the "changing status in actions or accomplishments" and "no change of status in activities or states" (1985:288).

Bondarko (1971b:11-15, 17, 20) attributes the great variety of potential meanings of the imperfective aspect to the context in which it occurs. Thus, imperfective verbs may denote notions usually associated with the perfective aspect, such as the completeness/integrity/totality ("celostnost'") of an action (e.g., in the historic present), or an instantaneous action. He also states that the two most important properties of the imperfective aspect are the presence of progressivity and absence of completeness while considering it an unmarked member of the aspectual opposition. Forsyth describes this way of defining the imperfective aspect as partly equipollent and partly privative (1970:348).

2.2.1. Summary

It is evident from the above analysis that the grammatical category of aspect is most frequently defined in terms of an aspectual opposition. Two major approaches towards this opposition can be distinguished. The traditional approach, otherwise known as privative, defines the imperfective aspect as the one lacking meanings present in the perfective aspect. Here, the imperfective aspect is viewed as the unmarked member of the aspectual opposition. In the equipollent approach, the perfective and imperfective aspects are seen as two distinct categories of the aspectual opposition in which both aspects are positively marked having their own, specific meanings and functions independent of each other. The functions and meanings attributed to the imperfective aspect reflect a particular approach taken towards the aspectual opposition. There are, however, certain meanings, such as progressivity, durativity, and iterativity, attributed to the imperfective verbs by both approaches, though some linguists attribute them to the semantics of the imperfective verb itself, and others regard them as completely dependent on context. I discuss below in detail these three meanings of the imperfective aspect, which are of particular interest to this thesis.

2.3. Characteristics of Progressivity, Durativity and Iterativity

Part of the reason for the difficulty in defining the imperfective is that the three fundamental contexts in which imperfective verbs are used in Russian constitute not distinct, but overlapping categories. Here too, a variety of definitions as well as of terminology is found. I now present the most basic notions associated with progressive, durative and iterative actions and states.

2.3.1. Progressivity

Progressivity denotes an action that is in progress (Russell 1985:61), i.e., "an action unfolding at a specific reference point in time" (Holden and Vermette 1980:2). It is also called "processuality" (Rassudova 1984:18, 28-38) or continuousness, and is sometimes defined as imperfectivity that is not habituality (Comrie 1976:26), although it does not exclude habituality since habituals may be progressive. Comrie considers it a subdivision of durativity (Comrie 1976:33). In English, for example, "the basic function of the progressive is the designation of limited duration" (Kuchera 1981:186). The view that denoting an action in progress is the main function of the imperfective aspect may be found among many linguists. Bondarko calls it a "dominant" characteristic of all the imperfective verbs (1971b:17). According to Rassudova (1984:17, 28-9), the progressive is inherent in the imperfective verb and it is the basic meaning of the imperfective aspect in the absence of "any additional characterization of the action", thus it is typical for the imperfective aspect in contexts both with and without "special process markers".

Rassudova (1984:28-34) discusses the notion of progressivity in great detail, taking into consideration all the nuances introduced by various contexts. Different factors contribute to the progressive reading of a sentence. Most importantly, it is associated with and determined by the lexical meaning of a particular verb. The processual meaning is closely related to the Aktionsarten since they are concerned with the progress and distribution of an action in time. The Aktionsarten denoting transition to a state and embodying the inchoative mode of action by their nature denote progressivity in the imperfective form, e.g., *gasnut'* ('to go out'), *soxnut'* ('to get dry'), *izchezat'* ('to disappear'). Also, multiphasal verbs conveying actions which develop intermittently and consist of a number of separate actions, e.g. *maxat'* ('to wave'), *dergat'* ('to keep pulling'), and the so-called verbs of cumulative change, e.g. *xudet'* ('to grow thin'), *privykat'* ('to grow accustomed to'), *rasti* ('to grow') stress the meaning of progressivity. In addition, the notion of progressivity may also be enhanced by a certain prefix attached to the verb, such as *raz-/ras-* which amplifies the intensity and duration of an action, e.g. *rassprashivat'* ('to make inquiries'), *rassmatrivat'* ('to examine'). Verbs "denoting purposeful action [*uznavat'* 'to ask, inquire'] develop the processual meaning very easily" (1984:30) as opposed to verbs denoting non-purposeful action which often express only a repetition. It has to be pointed out that since one verb may have both purposeful and non-purposeful meanings depending on the context in which it appears, it may or may not denote progressivity (e.g., *vstrechat'* - purposeful in *Kazhdyj den' ja vstrechal* *ego okolo nashego doma*. 'Every day I met him near our house' vs. non-purposeful in *Ja vstrechal na vokzale znakomykh* . 'I met some friends at the train station'). The progressive reading is also particularly common for verbs denoting an action whose result depends on the will of the agent, e.g., *izuchat'* ('to study'). The notion of progressivity is also brought out when "the period of time during which an action was taking place" is indicated, e.g.:

My guljali, poka ne stemnelo. ('We walked until it became dark.')

It is particularly clear in impersonal sentences, e.g.:

Temnelo. ('It was getting dark.')

Razgulivalos'. ('It was clearing up.')

2.3.2. Durativity

According to Comrie, "durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time" (1976:41). It is concerned with the "temporal extent" of a situation/event (Russell 1985:61). Maslov states that "the actions or states may range from unrestricted duration through restricted or brief duration to instantaneous action (a momentary 'jump' from one state to another)" (1985:16). Therefore, expressing the durativity of an event or state is relative to the nature of that event or state. According to Bondarko (1971b:19), the ability of the imperfective aspect to convey duration results from its ability to express progressivity. Thus, durativity might be considered a secondary meaning of the imperfective aspect. On the contrary, Comrie regards durativity as primary in relation to progressivity and claims that progressive reading results from the durative one.

2.3.3. Iterativity

Iterativity, also called habituality by Comrie (1976:27), is the repetition or the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation (Comrie 1976:27; Russell 1985:61). Jakobson defines an iterative event as "an event that is repetitive or usual in the past" (1984a:29). Thelin's (1978:67) definition stresses that the two or more repeated events must be identical to be considered iterative. But for most linguists the mere repetition of a specific action is not enough to consider it habitual. Iterativity denotes repetition without reference to habituality, while habituality is a specific type of more temporally restricted iterativity and thus should be seen as a subgroup of iterativity.

Certain types of repetition, the so-called "summarizing iterativity" (Thelin 1978:67), can be expressed with the perfective aspect if a situation is repeated several times over a relatively short period of time, such as a single event (e.g., *On prochital eto pis'mo neskol'ko raz.* 'He read this letter few times.'). The so-called "differentiated iterativity" (Thelin 1978:67) is expressed with the imperfective verb and the events are viewed as a series of separate occurrences (e.g., *On kazhdyj den' prochityval eto pis'mo.* 'He read this letter every day.')

The notion of iterativity may be either conveyed by the verb alone:

On vstaval ran'she vsex i vyxodil na palubu. ('He used to get up earlier than others and go out on deck.')

or indicated by the context:

My neskol'ko raz proverjali resul'taty. ('We checked the results several times.')

Repeated action is in particular conveyed by verbs denoting action occurring by chance. The secondary imperfective verbs receive an iterative reading especially when the action does not depend on the will or the initiative of the agent, e.g., when the verb *uznavat'* ('to find out') is used in conjunction with the preposition *ot* ('from') (e.g., *On pervym uznaval ot nego vse novosti.* 'He was always the first to find out all the news from him.') (Rassudova 1984:30-1). Frequently, in the absence of an iterative adverbial phrase, the verb will have the progressive reading (Rassudova 1984:43-4). Compare:

My neskol'ko raz tshchatel'no proverjali rezul'taty. ('We carefully checked the results several times.')

with:

My tshchatel'no proverjali rezul'taty. ('We were carefully checking the results.')

2.3.4. Summary

We may conclude that the progressive, durative and iterative readings of sentences are the result of the interaction among the meaning of the imperfective aspect, the semantics of the verb, or, in case of secondary imperfective verbs, the combination of the lexical meaning of the verb and prefix, and the context in which it is found, including temporal adverbials and adverbial phrases, and prepositions. Thus, these three readings are not independent, i.e., they do not depend entirely on a component of the semantics of the verb. As Bondarko puts it, imperfective verbs may or may not denote an action in progress, duration, or a repeated action depending on what type of a situation a speaker wishes to indicate (1971b:13-15). Moreover, verbs in the imperfective aspect primarily denote an action in progress, while, according to some linguists, denoting a durative action and a repeated action results from progressivity and depends on the context, respectively. On the other hand, the distinction is usually made between the types of situations denoted by simplex imperfectives and secondary imperfectives. It is claimed that the former denote mostly an action in progress, while the latter convey a notion of a repeated action. Another purported distinction between the two is that the denoting of an action in progress is usually dependent on context, in case of unprefixed imperfectives, while denoting a repeated action, in case of prefixed imperfectives, constitutes an element of the semantics of the verb alone, i.e., it is the result of the imperfectivizing suffix contained in the secondary imperfectives.

2.4. Secondary Imperfectives: A General Overview

Just as little agreement has been reached on the meaning of the category of aspect, and on the meaning and functions of the imperfective and perfective aspects, the functions and meanings of secondary imperfective verbs have never been fully defined. Linguists generally agree, however, that suffixal imperfectives are secondary formations derived from prefixed perfectives. As already mentioned, the topic of secondary imperfective verbs is usually treated marginally in the studies dedicated to aspect and is most frequently brought up in the discussions related to the aspectual pairing of verbs.

2.4.1. Derivability, Derivation, and Morphology of Secondary Imperfectives

The three imperfectivizing suffixes in Russian used for the formation of secondary imperfective verbs are: *-a-/-ja* , *-yv-/-iv-*, *-va-* (Forsyth 1970:27-9; Jakobson 1984a:28; Russell 1985:61; Townsend 1981:38). The original meaning of the last two is repetition of action, in other words iterativity (Forsyth 1970:27). It ought to be pointed out here that secondary imperfectives must not be confused with the so-called frequentatives which are derived from simplex imperfective verbs through imperfectivizing suffixes, e.g., *est'* vs. *edat'* ('to eat'), *znat'* vs. *znavat'* ('to know'), *chitat'* vs. *chityvat'* ('to read'). The frequentatives express "habitual action almost exclusively related in past time" (Forsyth 1970:28).

The subject of "derivability" of secondary imperfectives and the relationship between simplex and derived imperfectives are among the most understudied and controversial topics in the field of aspectology. Although most linguists accept the prefixed perfective as the derivational source of secondary imperfectives, this position is not shared by all aspectologists. A negative approach towards secondary imperfectivization ("vtorichnaja imperfektivizacija"), also known as "atelicization" (Brecht 1985:17) (since by definition imperfective verbs denote atelic situations), is found more frequently than a positive one, i.e., some aspectologists talk more often of instances in which the derivation is not possible rather than when it is possible. By emphasizing negative rather than positive factors that determine the formation of secondary imperfectives, these linguists suggest that there is no common ground for viewing secondary imperfectives as a group (Flier 1985:43).

Maslov claims that verbs which are *imperfectiva tantum* (e.g., *viset'*, 'to hang', *soderzhat'*, 'to contain', *stoit'*, 'to cost', *uchitel'stvovat'*, 'to be a teacher') are not used in the perfective aspect form since the "formation of the . . . [perfective] aspect is not semantically required" (1967:105), they, therefore, do not form secondary imperfectives, either. On the other hand, the *perfectiva tantum* do occasionally give rise to secondary imperfectives (e.g., *zaxrapet'* > *zaxrapyvat'*) (1967:105). This suggests that in certain contexts some *perfectiva tantum* function as regular paired perfectives.

According to Hoepelman (1981:12), a secondary imperfective can generally be formed from a relevant perfective whose lexical meaning has been changed as a result of the addition of a prefix to the simplex imperfective. Consequently, the derived imperfective verb will have the same lexical meaning as its perfective equivalent, e.g., *rabotat'* > *zarabotat'* > *zarabatyvat'* ('to work' > 'to earn'). Since it is difficult to determine whether a given prefix does or does not alter the semantics of the verb, it is almost impossible to conclude which prefixed verbs form secondary imperfectives. There are instances in which attaching one and the same prefix to the same verb root will result in two distinct readings of the meaning of the verb depending upon the context. E.g., in:

On perezhil vojnu ('He survived the war.')

the prefix *pere-* is "empty" and the secondary imperfective cannot be derived. On the other hand, it is meaningful in:

On perezhil eti trudnye dni. ('He suffered through these difficult days.')

and the derivation of the secondary imperfective is possible. The topic of prefixation will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Forsyth, like Hoepelman, argues that the derivation of secondary imperfective verbs is only possible when prefixed perfectives do not constitute aspectual partners to simplex imperfectives (1970:43). He does not specify, however, exactly when prefixed perfectives constitute aspectual partners. The delimitive verbs, i.e., verbs prefixed with *po-* or *pro-* denoting the events "confined to a specific period of time, either past or future" (Flier 1985:41) yield secondary imperfectives with the meaning of iterativity only. Durative and progressive contexts are not possible with delimitive secondary imperfective verbs (Flier 1985:41; Rassudova 1984:31). In her analysis of verbs prefixed with *na-*, Russell observes that verbs which may be classified as *accomplishments* give rise to secondary imperfectives freely, while verbs classified as *achievements* form secondary imperfectives only seldom and only in the iterative meaning (1985:73). Brecht (1985:16) claims that the prefixed verbs derived through the process of sublexical prefixation, i.e., the prefixation introducing Aktionsarten, with rare exceptions, preclude the derivation of secondary imperfectives. The reason for this is that prefixed verbs which, by definition, often denote temporally limited (*accomplishments*) or instantaneous (*achievements*) situations will naturally resist a process of suffixation which will transform them into *states* or *activities* which are not limited temporally, e.g., the verb *zakurit'* denoting an instantaneous action (an inchoative Aktionsart) does not give rise to **zakurivat'*. This is a significantly different view from the rest of aspectologists whose position is that the derivation of secondary imperfectives is only possible if the prefix alters the way an action is performed or viewed, i.e., when it introduces the Aktionsarten or derives a completely new lexeme. Murphy's position of almost unlimited derivation also differs significantly from the above-presented restrictions on the derivation. He claims that "in practice almost any Russian verb with a prefix can form a secondary imperfective" (1965:6).

Two theoretical models have been proposed for the derivation of secondary imperfectives both involving the processes of prefixation and suffixation together with stem modification. The first model consists of two steps: firstly, the prefixed perfective is derived from the basic imperfective verb in the process of prefixation (e.g., *bit'* > *ubit'*, *chitat'* > *prochitat'*, *gruzit'* >*vygruzit'*); secondly, the secondary imperfective verb is derived from the prefixed perfective by the process of suffixation (e.g., *ubit'* > *ubivat'*, *prochitat'* > *prochityvat'*, *vygruzit'* > *vygruzhat'*) (Forsyth 1970; Academy Grammar 1970). The second model consists of one step only, namely the secondary imperfective verb is derived directly from the simplex imperfective by adding both a prefix and an imperfectivizing suffix (e.g., *lezhat'* > *polezhivat'*, *govorit'* > *prigovarivat'*, *govorit'* > *razgovarivat'*, *pet'* > *napevat'*).

Maslov describes this simplified derivation process as "jumping over the perfective verb" (1967:105). Townsend claims that secondary imperfectives are derived directly from imperfective verbs in cases where the corresponding perfective "no longer exists, or at least no longer exists in the same meaning" (1975:141). Murphy also admits the existence of secondary imperfectives which are derived from perfectives which disappeared from the language, e.g., *zagljadet'* (which exists only as a reflexive verb in modern Russian) > *zagljadyvat'* (1965:9), **razgovorit'* > *razgovarivat'*. Some linguists distinguish further between the imperfectivization process in which secondary imperfectives are built from prefixed perfectives derived from simplex imperfectives, and one in which they are built from prefixed perfectives which are derived from other parts of speech in the processes of prefixation and suffixation (e.g., *poshlyj* > *oposhlit'* > *oposhljat'*) (Academy Grammar 1970:340). In other words, there is no complete agreement as to whether secondary imperfectives are derived from prefixed perfectives or directly from simplex imperfectives, or even from other parts of speech.

A considerably different approach towards the derivational process is taken by Levin (1985:16-23) who views the formation of new words, such as suffixal imperfectives, as a cognitive process. He proposes a systems matrix model according to which the derivation of new words involves a process of matching concepts that exist in our minds with the appropriate formal elements of language. He thus rejects the notion of a linear derivational process represented by the first theoretical derivational model. Instead of "rule operations on abstract shapes", the system matrix model claims that secondary imperfectives are formed "along axes consisting of secondary imperfectives, united by shared meaning" (1985:23). They intersect with simple imperfectives which may or may not have prefixed perfectives, and if they do, triplets of verbs are found. Levin argues that "new forms can be entirely unpredictable since the motivation [to derive them] involves the intersection of morphology and cognitive perception, where the role of metaphor is crucial" (1985:16) and he considers metaphor as the critical factor in the formation of secondary imperfectives. Therefore, in his model prefixed perfectives are not necessary for the derivation of secondary imperfectives. The important advantage of the systems matrix model is that it does not employ binary semantic features, hence, it allows for the existence of aspectual triplets and quadruplets whose existence has always been the cause of disagreement among aspectologists. In addition, the model "does not support the existence of a separate category of Aktionsart" (1985:20) since it does not distinguish between lexical and grammatical prefixation.

2.4.2. Meaning of Secondary Imperfectives

It is generally accepted that derived imperfectives differ in their meaning from simplex imperfectives (see Forsyth 1970:43-4; Hoepelman 1981:12; Paducheva 1990:1), however, how they differ has yet to be determined. This view results from an assumption that the process of prefixation changes the lexical meaning of the simplex imperfective and the newly derived verb requires its own aspectual partner. Consequently, the secondary imperfective built from the simplex verb automatically acquires a different meaning - that added by the prefix. This view could be accepted as a general rule if no derivation directly from simplex imperfectives had been possible. Yet, as was seen in the previous section, this is not the case.

According to Forsyth, secondary imperfectives are usually formed to express, in the first place, the notion of repetition of the action. Their "lexical meanings [are] quite clearly different from the basic meaning of the simple imperfective", e.g., *bit'* ('to beat') vs. *ubivat'* ('to kill') and *razbivat'* ('to smash'); *rezat'* ('to cut') vs. *razrezat'* ('to cut up') and *zarezat'* ('to stab to death'). Nevertheless, in some contexts, such as imperative sentences or sentences in the present historic, the basic imperfective has the same meaning as the derived perfective. Thus, the relevant secondary imperfective and the basic imperfective share some of their meanings (Forsyth 1970:43-4). Paducheva (1990:1) states that the two forms are not fully synonymous. Forsyth rightfully points out that "the degree of synonymity . . . between the simple and secondary imperfectives, and their relative stylistic status, varies from verb to verb" (1970:45). Some simplex imperfectives have more meanings associated with them than derived imperfectives, e.g., *merznut'* vs. *zamerzat'*; in other cases, it is the derived imperfectives that have a wider range of meanings, e.g., *kryt'* vs. *pokryvat'*, however, in general, the usage and meaning of secondary imperfectives is very restricted. Furthermore, simplex imperfectives have a tendency to cooccur more frequently with abstract objects, thus are generally "more vague in meaning" (1970:46). The secondary imperfectives are stylistically neutral and relate to "specific concrete facts" (1970:45). The former are also used in more colloquial contexts, while the latter in higher literary style. According to Forsyth, there is a strong tendency in Russian to eliminate simplex imperfectives if both simplex and secondary verbs exist since derived imperfectives are preferred "for the sake of precision" (170:45-6). The Academy Grammar observes stylistic differences between primary and secondary imperfectives (1970:342). On the other hand, Murphy (1965:6-7) states that secondary imperfectives "function exactly as other imperfective forms".

2.4.3. Summary

Suffixal imperfectives are secondary formations built in the processes of prefixation and suffixation accompanied frequently by stem modification. Some linguists claim that they denote *activities* potentially leading to the goal or result, others, on the contrary, argue that secondary imperfectives do not make any reference to the completion or non-completion of the action. Despite the fact that Russian exhibits great productivity and freedom in deriving secondary imperfectives, a great variety of restrictions on the derivation do apply. Although primary and derived imperfective verbs share some of their meanings, the majority of linguists do not consider them to be lexically identical. The differences in meaning in the secondary imperfectives are introduced by both the imperfectivizing suffix and the prefix. The function and meaning of the former are obvious and have been well-defined, while those of the latter are not always clear. Therefore, in order to determine in what way secondary imperfective verbs differ from basic imperfective verbs it is necessary to establish the function of a particular prefix attached to a particular verb in a context where it is found. No agreement has been reached on the constraints on the derivation of suffixal imperfectives. Establishing the differences in meaning between unprefixed and prefixed imperfectives as well as specific meanings of the latter, and determining the systematic basis for their derivational sources constitute some of the issues studied in this thesis.

2.5. Prefixation and Aspectual Pairing

The process of prefixation and related problems need to be discussed here since the vast majority of secondary imperfectives are derived from prefixed perfectives. These, in turn, are formed through attaching prefixes to the simplex imperfectives.

On the one hand, a prefix is considered to have a word-derivational function, when it derives a new lexeme, on the other hand, an inflectional function, when it perfectivizes a verb. Some linguists attribute strictly lexical functions to prefixes, not allowing them to have morphological functions only. They also claim that not a single purely grammatical prefix is encountered in Russian (Flier 1975:228; Murphy 1965; Academy Grammar 1970:339). The occurrence of these two seemingly contradictory functions have recently been challenged by many linguists. One result has been the classification of prefixes into three distinct categories according to their meanings and functions. According to Forsyth, we can differentiate between purely ***aspectual*** , or so-called "empty" prefixes; the ***non-aspectual***, ***lexical***, or so-called "pure" or ***meaningful*** prefixes; and the so-called ***Aktionsarten*** prefixes (1970: 18-20; Townsend 1975:116-18). Aspectual prefixes

> add neither a new lexical meaning nor a procedural nuance, but merely . . . convert the simple imperfective into a perfective with identical lexical meaning, e.g. *pit'* > *vypit'*, *chitat'* > *prochitat'*. (Forsyth 1970:19)

The lexical prefixes are defined by Forsyth as ones expressing "spatial or other more abstract relationships and . . . [modifying] the original meaning of the verb" (1970:18). The result of such a prefixation will be a lexical derivative, i.e., "a new verb denoting a type of action different from that denoted by the original verb", e.g., *brat'* > *vybrat'* ('to take' > 'to choose'), *govorit'* > *ugovorit'* ('to speak' > 'to persuade') (Forsyth 1970:19).

The Aktionsarten prefixes leave

> unaltered the basic meaning of the original verb (i.e. it still denotes exactly the same type of action) but indicate how that action develops or proceeds in particular circumstances, e.g., *perebrat'*, *zagovorit'*. (Forsyth 1970:19)

The most common types of procedurals may be found in Forsyth who presents a modified summary of Isachenko's Aktionsarten (1970:20-4, 167-71): inceptives (ingressives and evolutives), i.e., verbs expressing the beginning of an action (e.g., *zaplakat', poljubit', uznat', uvidet', raskrichat'sja*); absorptives, i.e., verbs denoting a state of complete absorption in the action (e.g., *zagovorit'sja, zagljadet'sja*); attenuatives, i.e., verbs expressing the development of an action to a limited extent (e.g., *pozanimat'sja, priotkryt'*); terminatives (finitives), i.e., verbs denoting the end of an action (e.g., *dochitat', otrabotat'*); totalizing, i.e., verbs conveying the notion of the total degree of performance on a given occasion, normally with reference to the object which is being acted upon (e.g., *prodelat' uprazhnenija, sygrat' symfoniju, nabrat' gribov*); resultative, i.e., verbs denoting the achievement of a desired result (e.g., *dozvonit'sja, vyspat'sja*), or an action leading to an undesirable or absurd degree (e.g., *doigrat'sja*); duratives, also known as delimitatives, i.e., verbs concerned with the development of an action in time (e.g., *pospat', pogovorit', prostat'*); comitatives, i.e., verbs occurring only in the imperfective aspect and denoting an action accompanying or resulting from another (e.g., *podprygivat', prigovarivat', pokashlivat'*); iteratives, i.e., verbs expressing the notion of both totality and repetition (e.g., *pokrikivat', podumyvat'*). Frequentatives constitute another type of procedurals which consist of unprefixed imperfective verbs denoting the repetition of an action, most frequently in the past (e.g., *znavat', sizhivat'*). The above are not discrete categories and their meanings frequently overlap, e.g., *pokashlivat'* is a comitative as well as an iterative, *poplakat'* is an attenuative as well as durative. Some of these procedurals (such as inceptives, absorptives, attenuatives, terminative, totalizing, resultatives, comitatives) form secondary imperfectives, some (such as duratives[4]) do not, some occur only as secondary imperfectives, i.e., they are *imperfectiva tantum* (such as iteratives).

Isachenko differentiates between two types of verbal prefixes: "qualifying" and "modifying". Both types perfectivize imperfective verbs. The former give rise to new lexical derivatives, e.g., *perepisat'* ('to copy') and can further give rise to secondary imperfectives with the same meaning, e.g., *perepisyvat'*, while the latter form various

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[4] The derivation of secondary imperfectives is possible here only in the case of iterative meaning, e.g., *pogovarivat', prozhivat'* , otherwise the delimitative meaning is lost (Thelin 1978:34).

Aktionsarten, e.g., *napisat'* ('to write down') from which the derivation of secondary imperfectives is not possible (Thelin 1978:67).

Spagis divides prefixes into two basic categories: unproductive and productive. The latter include three types of prefixes from Forsyth's classification, namely: prefixes which either add new lexical meanings to unprefixed verbs, or derive completely new words without changing the aspect of a given verb - these are said to have *lexical* functions (e.g., *ot-dat', pere-dat', vykinut', na-kinut'*); prefixes which either add new meaning or change that of an unprefixed verb while simultaneously changing its aspect from imperfective to perfective said to have *lexico-grammatical* functions (e.g., *za-bit', u-govorit'*); prefixes which turn an imperfective verb into a perfective one without introducing any lexical changes into the verb - the *grammatical* function (e.g., *s-delat', po-vesit'*) Spagis 1969:6-9).

A number of questions arise while determining the nature of a given prefix. There is considerable disagreement among linguists as to which prefixes are "empty", i.e., those which do not add any new meaning to the original verb, and those which introduce what Forsyth calls "procedural nuances" (1970:19). Some argue that since all prefixes modify in some way the lexical meaning of the verb (Flier 1975:228; Murphy 1965:10; Rassudova 1984:24), "empty" prefixes are not encountered in a language. The notion of "empty" and meaningful prefixes affects the derivation of secondary imperfectives. As already mentioned, it is usually accepted that, with some exceptions, the derivation of secondary imperfectives is only possible when prefixed perfectives are not combined in an aspectual pair with simplex imperfectives from which they are derived. The derived prefixed imperfectives combine then with prefixed perfectives (Forsyth 1970:29; Hoepelman 1981:12). This occurs only when the added prefix is meaningful. But with no agreement on the functions and meanings of prefixes, especially with regard to the semantics of the verb root or the context, there is no agreement on the pairing of verbs and the function of secondary imperfectives within the aspectual paradigm, viz. on whether they constitute a part of an aspectual trio, or the imperfective aspect in an aspectual pair.

Maslov (1967:103) argues that the morphological regularity of secondary imperfectives is not necessarily the only condition for their inclusion in the aspectual paradigm. To support this claim he gives examples of secondary imperfectives which are *imperfectiva tantum*, such as *polagat'* ('to suppose') which is not paired with *polozhit'* ('to complete putting down') despite their high morphological similarity. Instead, *polozhit'* is combined in an aspectual pair with the verb *klast'* ('to put down') due to their functional-semantic regularity. Thus, perfectives can combine with simplex imperfectives forming irregular paradigms, the so-called suppletive pairs, e.g., *vzjat'/brat'* ('to take'). Accordingly, Maslov's (1948) classification of aspectual pairs is not based on the morphological regularity but on the type of meaning that the members of a given aspectual pair convey. A similar approach has been adopted by Spagis (1961:350) whose classification of aspectual pairs is based on the similarity of meanings as opposed to similarity of morphology, i.e., it is not based on similar patterns of derivation of verbs.

Regrettably, aspectologists tend to look at particular prefixes in isolation, not seldom detached from verbs which, in turn, are taken out of context. Yet when investigating prefixes, it is necessary to take into consideration a number of factors, such as the assumptions made by the definition of the perfective aspect, the lexical meaning of the root of the verb and the context in which it is found, i.e., the entire predication as well as the semantics of a prefix, as Spagis (1969:9) rightfully observes that the function of a given prefix depends on all three of the following: its lexical meaning, the semantics of the verb to which it is attached and the context in which the verb is employed. The choice of a prefix is frequently determined by the direct object of the verb, e.g., *nalit' vodu na mal'chika* ('to spill water on the boy') but *oblit' mal'chika vodoj* ('to soak the boy with water'). Consequently, the aspectuality of the entire proposition is affected by the choice of the prefix. Moreover, it has been shown that a particular prefix may have more than one meaning and function, i.e., be it either derivational or inflectional, depending on the verb root to which it is attached. E.g., the prefix *raz-* is inflectional in *razbit' posudu* ('to complete the breaking of the dishes') as opposed to *bit' posudu* ('to break the dishes'), but becomes derivational in *raznesti pis'ma* ('to deliver the letters') as opposed to *nesti pis'ma* ('to carry the letters'). In addition, some prefixes, even when added to the same verb root, combine the two functions. Consequently, since it is impossible to draw a line separating the three types of prefixes, we might conclude that they are distributed along a continuum of prefixal meanings ranging from purely aspectual, through the so-called Aktionsarten to purely lexical meanings.

The debate on how much lexical meaning, if any, the prefixes add to the original meaning of the verb or how much they alter this meaning is one of the main topics in the literature on the aspectual pairing of

Russian verbs. Depending on their lexical or grammatical semantics, the resulting forms are or are not considered aspectual counterparts of the original forms, and the existence of a particular aspectual pair may or may not be recognized. Rassudova argues that

> if the prefix introduces only a slight nuance into the meaning of the verb, the unprefixed and prefixed verbs are similar to an aspectual pair. (1984:24)

However, it is difficult to determine what "slight nuance" really means. Rassudova claims that the unprefixed imperfective and the prefixed perfective are never completely semantically identical (1984:24). Therefore, it is impossible for the derived imperfective to be lexically identical with the basic imperfective, which was already observed in the section 2.4.2. of this chapter. She introduces a term "semantic pair" for pairs of verbs consisting of an unprefixed imperfective and a prefixed perfective in which the attached prefix introduces a significant shift in the lexical meaning. Accordingly, pairs consisting of an unprefixed imperfective and a prefixed perfective may be seen as semantic, as opposed to aspectual, pairs (1984:25). Brecht (1985:12) claims that verbs expressing atelic (non-goal-oriented) situations are usually simplex imperfectives and are paired with prefixed perfectives, while those expressing telic (goal-oriented) situations are prefixed and are paired with imperfectives containing the productive imperfectivizing suffix (secondary imperfectives). In his discussion on the process of prefixation, Brecht (1985:14-16) focuses on its telicizing function. It is well-accepted that atelic situations in Russian, i.e., *states* and *activities*, are represented by simplex verbs. It is also accepted that the aspect of simplex verbs is usually imperfective. The process of prefixation, which Brecht sees as "a strictly lexical process", transforms atelic situations into telic ones and "is accompanied by an automatic shift in the aspect of the verb" since telic situations are usually expressed by perfective verbs. Brecht, like Forsyth, distinguishes between lexical and sublexical prefixation. The latter introduces Aktionsarten in addition to the transformation of atelic situations into telic ones and the perfectivization of the verb. The only difference between the two types of prefixation is the modification of the situation introduced by a particular prefix. Brecht claims that the result of lexical prefixation is more drastic since it creates an entirely different situation. It is worth pointing out that Brecht always refers to the telicization of the entire situations as opposed to verbs. Thus, verbs themselves cannot be categorized as telic or atelic.

2.6. Summary

Having reviewed the most fundamental approaches towards the category of aspect, this chapter shows that there is no one correct answer to the highly complex question: What is Aspect? The category of aspect has triggered a great deal of linguistic debate and its precise meaning and functions have yet to be fully established. Nevertheless, it may be concluded that aspect is a grammatical category associated with the verb and concerned with the development of action in time, and as a grammatical category, it is expressed, in Russian, in two morphological forms of the verb, viz. the perfective and imperfective.

Most linguists agree that the majority of Russian verbs can be combined into aspectual pairs. The pairing of verbs depends on the semantics of a particular verb which, in turn, includes any new meanings introduced by the prefix. No universal criterion has been established for determining whether a prefix does or does not alter the lexical meaning of the verb. It is generally accepted that verbs forming an aspectual pair differ only in aspect and are identical lexically. Linguists also agree that the purest aspectual pair consists of a prefixed perfective verb and its prefixed derived imperfective equivalent. However, some also permit the existence of other pairs, such as ones consisting of an unprefixed simplex imperfective verb and a prefixed perfective derived from it. There is little agreement among aspectologists as to the existence of purely aspectual, "empty" prefixes. Since some linguists agree on the existence of aspectual pairs consisting of an unprefixed and prefixed verb, it suggests that they also allow for the existence of non-derivational prefixes. It may be thus concluded that both inflectional and derivational prefixes exist and that one and the same prefix may have both functions depending on the verb to which it is attached and on the context. The topic of the meanings of secondary imperfectives and how they differ from those of primary imperfectives is closely connected with the issue of derivational and inflectional prefixes. It was found that there is no universal agreement on this question either. For this reason an experiment was devised to address this and some of the other problems on aspectual pairing encountered in this chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPERIMENT

A lack of agreement among aspectologists on the basic meanings of secondary imperfective verbs and on their usage in either progressive, durative, or iterative contexts as well as on their derivational sources shows that more detailed studies are needed in order to explain these unsettled issues. In this chapter, I present the methodology of an experiment conducted in an attempt to answer the questions posed by the hypotheses on the meaning of the imperfective forms.

3.1. Hypotheses

The experiment tested the following hypotheses:

(1) The range of meanings of simplex imperfective verbs is broader than that of derived imperfective verbs.

(2) The iterative constitutes the basic context for the secondary imperfective verbs denoting telic situations, viz. *accomplishments* as well as *achievements*.

(3) The progressive constitutes the basic context for the simplex imperfective verbs.

(4) There is a tendency in Russian to eliminate simplex imperfective verbs.

Hypothesis (1):

As already mentioned in the second chapter, it is generally accepted that derived imperfectives differ quite clearly in their lexical meaning from simplex imperfectives despite a number of meanings common to both forms (Forsyth 1970:43-4; Hoepelman 1981:12); but how they differ has not been fully determined. This view results from an assumption that the process of prefixation changes the semantics of the simplex imperfective. Given this assumption, the secondary imperfective built from the simplex verb, or from a prefixed perfective, automatically acquires a different meaning - that added by the prefix. We can find several contradictory views as to how the meanings of these imperfective forms differ. There are linguists who argue that secondary imperfectives are nothing else than regular imperfective verbs which have the same usage as basic imperfectives (Murphy 1965:7). On the other hand, others claim that some simplex imperfectives have more meanings associated with them than derived imperfectives, e.g., *merznut'* vs. *zamerzat'*; in other cases, it is the derived imperfectives that have a wider range of meanings, e.g., *kryt'* vs. *pokryvat'*. Furthermore, simplex imperfectives are said to have a tendency to cooccur more frequently with abstract objects, thus are generally "more vague in meaning." Occasionally, the simplex imperfectives are said to be used in more colloquial contexts, while the derived imperfectives, in higher literary style. Forsyth (170:45-6) rightfully points out that "the degree of synonymity . . . between the simple and secondary imperfectives, and their relative stylistic status, varies from verb to verb". In addition, he observes a strong tendency in Russian to eliminate simplex imperfectives. The experiment, described below, attempts to answer the question: which imperfective verb, primary or secondary, is more acceptable in the established contexts, thus which of them has a wider range of meanings associated with it?

Hypothesis (2):

Some linguists argue that the three meanings of the imperfective aspect - progressive, durative, and iterative - are completely dependent on the context in which they are found and on that context's adverbs in particular (Bondarko 1971b; Forsyth 1970:4). At the same time, they maintain that the most characteristic and most frequent context in which secondary imperfective verbs occur is the iterative context. Moreover, the iterative is considered to be the only reading for *achievement* verbs, while the progressive and durative readings are possible only with *accomplishment* verbs and are always accompanied by the iterative meaning (Russell 1985). Thus, denoting a repeated - iterative - action is regarded as the primary function of the secondary imperfective verbs (see Bondarko 1971b; Russell 1985:61). The experiment was designed to test the use of the secondary imperfective verbs in these three contexts and possibly determine the context in which they occur most frequently.

Hypothesis (3):

The majority of linguists claim that the progressive is the inherent meaning of the imperfective aspect, that it constitutes its basic context, and its main function is denoting an action in progress (see Comrie 1976:26; Rassudova 1984:17). This view is in opposition to the claim made by some linguists that the basic function of the secondary imperfective verbs is the denotation of an iterative action. Bondarko (1971b) and Forsyth (1970), on the contrary, argue that the progressive meaning is not inherent in the imperfective verb and that conveying progressivity is the function usually attributed to adverbs in conjunction with verbs as opposed to verbs *per se*. The experiment tests the progressive context as the primary context for simplex imperfective verbs.

Hypothesis (4):

According to Forsyth (1970:46), the Russian language exhibits a general tendency towards the elimination of simplex imperfectives if the two (primary and secondary) morphological imperfective forms of one verb root are encountered and compete for usage. Forsyth claims that secondary imperfectives are usually preferred "for the sake of precision" because it is felt that the basic imperfectives are more vague in meaning. On the other hand, he also admits that no simple or uniform rule can be found for the phenomenon of the decreasing usage of the derived imperfectives.

3.2. Subjects

Seven informants participated in the experiment. They were all native speakers of Russian. All except two, who came from Ukraine (Kiev), came from mainland Russia (Moscow and St. Petersburg). They were three female and four male adults, all but one with higher education. Their ages ranged from thirty-four to fifty-five. The subjects were exposed to the English-speaking environment anywhere from eighteen months to ten years.

3.3. Data and Their Organization

Six primary imperfective verbs and three prefixes were chosen for this study. Eighteen secondary imperfective verbs were derived through the processes of suffixation and the addition of the three selected prefixes to each primary imperfective verb. In the case of one verb, a stem modification also took place.

The basic (unprefixed) imperfective verbs were chosen from a list of the most frequently used verb roots in scientific Russian (see Holden 1976). The selection of verbs was a multi-step procedure. Originally, ten verbs were chosen: *bit', dat', lit', myt', est', kopat', pisat', rezat', nesti, delat'*. In the course of devising the experiment, it was decided to reduce the number of verbs from ten to six in order to limit the time required for subjects' completion of the experimental task. A number of factors contributed to the final selection of verbs: a potential occurrence of a verb in telic and transitive contexts; the morphology of both primary and secondary imperfective verbs derived from them; the compatibility of each simplex verb with each of the selected prefixes; a cooccurrence of a simplex verb and its prefixed derivatives with a common direct object. These criteria automatically excluded verbs of motion from the experiment. Verbs of perception were further eliminated due to the limitations on the formation of secondary imperfectives from them. Due to the established criteria the following verbs were eliminated from the investigation: *edat'*, *nesti*, and *dat'* due to their irregular or complex morphology; *rezat'* due to its irregular morphology and stress pattern; *bit'* and *myt'* due to their incompatibility with the chosen prefixes. Therefore, the following verbs were left: *lit', kopat', pisat',* and *delat'*. In addition, it was decided that the derived secondary imperfectives should reflect the three morphological types, viz. verbs in *-va-, -iva-/-yva-* and *-a-/-ja-*. Consequently, the following two verbs that matched the established requirements were added to the above mentioned four: *pet'* and *delit'* As a result of a pilot study, the verb *delat'* had to be further eliminated from the investigation since it was not possible to find a common direct object for the three suffixal imperfectives which were formed from it. Eventually, the following primary imperfective verbs denoting both *accomplishments* and *achievements* were employed in the experiment: *delit'*, 'to divide', *gruzit'*, 'to load', *kopat'*, 'to dig', *lit'*, 'to pour', *pisat'*, 'to write', and *pet'*, 'to sing'.

The prefixes originally chosen comprised: *za-, pere-, na-, vy-, do-, ot-,* and *raz-/ras-*. Here too, the number of prefixes to be analyzed was reduced in order to decrease experimental time. The prefixes *za-* and *do-* were eliminated due to the complexity of new meanings, such as inchoative and totalizing Aktionsarten, respectively, that they introduce in the verb. Furthermore, the prefix *ot-* was eliminated because of its incompatibility with all the selected simplex imperfective verbs. The prefix *na-* was excluded due to its inclusion in the recent study on prefixed perfectives and secondary imperfectives conducted by Russell (1985).

To determine whether the formation of a secondary imperfective verb is possible, four Russian dictionaries (Academy Dictionary 1950-

65; Evgen'ev *et al.* 1957-60; Evgen'ev *et al.* 1981-83; Ozhegov 1989;) and two verb handbooks (Andreyeva-Georg and Tolmacheva 1975; Spagis 1969) were consulted. Not all the sources consulted listed the secondary imperfectives in question. Therefore, it was decided that in order to accept a particular suffixal imperfective, it had to be listed by four out of six of the above-mentioned sources.

Since the category of aspect interacts with a number of other grammatical categories and the majority of aspectologists consider the three meanings of the imperfective aspect (progressive, durative, and iterative) to be completely dependent on the context, especially in the past tense (Bondarko 1971b; Forsyth 1970; Rassudova 1984; Spagis 1969), the two morphological forms of the imperfective aspect were placed in appropriate adverbial contexts. Initially, each sentence included the following: a singular subject, a simplex or derived imperfective verb, a singular or plural direct object, a quantifier on the direct object, a location adverbial and three temporal adverbials or adverbial phrases: progressive, durative, and iterative. The singularity and plurality of the object were felt necessary for the testing of iterativity. However, it was realized that placing the quantifier on the direct object created a redundant context, i.e., two contexts in which the direct object was morphologically marked for plurality, e.g., *On dolgo vykapyval* jamy. ('He was digging holes for a long time.') vs. *On dolgo vykapyval* dve jamy. ('He was digging two holes for a long time.'). Therefore, the quantifier was eliminated from the investigation. Furthermore, due to the strong incorporation in the prefixes of prepositions employed in a prepositional phrase of location, it was frequently impossible to determine whether a prepositional phrase was required by the direct object of the verb or by the prefix in the verb or both (e.g., *Mama vylivala vodu iz bochki.* 'Mother was pouring the water out of the barrel.'). Consequently, it was decided to exclude completely location adverbials from the context. Eventually, each sentence of the experimental quesionnaire included: a singular subject (either a common noun or personal pronoun); a simplex imperfective verb or a relevant prefixed secondary imperfective verb; a singular or plural object; and one of the three temporal adverbials or adverbial phrases: progressive (*kogda ja voshla, kogda on voshel, v tot moment*), durative (*dolgo*), and iterative (*vsegda, kazhdyj den'*). Since aspect interacts with tense, all the verbs were put in the past tense forms in order to avoid ambiguities associated with various modal meanings introduced by the present tense. The order of sentences was then randomized. A complete list of stimuli sentences is given in the Appendix.

3.4. Procedure

Each subject received a questionnaire containing the one hundred and forty-four sentences in random order accompanied by instructions written in English. Subjects were asked to rate each sentence on a three-point scale as either acceptable, or questionable, or unacceptable with appropriate symbols (√, ?, *, respectively) on the basis of their potential usage. They were given as much time as they required to complete the questionnaire. The entire session took approximately thirty minutes.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed to analyze the data collected from the experiment. In this chapter, the statistical results obtained from the experiment are discussed in terms of the significant main effects and interactions. The chapter is composed of several parts. First, the statistical tests are presented. Next, a detailed analysis is conducted on all factors contributing to the acceptability and/or unacceptability and their interactions: Subjects (henceforth S), Verb roots (henceforth V), Prefixes (henceforth P), Contexts (henceforth C).

4.1. Statistical Tests: The Experimental Design

To perform statistical analysis, the order of sentences in the experimental questionnaire was derandomized according to context type - progressive, durative, or iterative (henceforth C_1, C_2, and C_3, respectively). Next, each sentence was assigned a number according to the acceptability rating assigned by the informants. Numbers one, two and three replaced the unacceptability (*), questionability (?) and acceptability (√) symbols, respectively. In addition, all the factors were numbered. Each verb was assigned a number from one to six; each attached prefix - from one to four (simplex imperfective verbs were considered to contain prefix "zero" which was given number one). Preliminary manual mathematical calculations revealed that the singularity and plurality of the direct object of the verb did not introduce a sufficiently significant statistical difference to be regarded as separate factors. Therefore, in the ANOVA sentences differing only in the number of the direct object were treated as replicates.

The statistical analysis was carried out with the use of the BMDP statistical package. The dependent variable was the acceptability of the stimuli sentences as measured on the three-point scale. Independent variables were: 1) Context (C) - with three levels: Progressive (C1), Durative (C2), and Iterative (C3); 2) Prefix (P) - with four levels: unprefixed (simplex) (P_1), *vy-* (P_2), *pere-* (P_3), *raz-* (P_4); 3) Verb root (V) - with six levels: *lit'* (V_1), *pet'* (V_2), *kopat'* (V_3), *pisat'* (V_4), *delit'* (V_5), *gruzit'* (V_6); Subjects (S) - with seven subjects. The design was thus a four factor partially repeated measures design with the Subjects repeated across the Context by Prefix by Verb root factor combinations.

4.2. Results

Table 4.1. contains the results of the analysis of variance. The analysis showed that all the factors - C, P, V, and S - taken separately contributed to the acceptability and/or unacceptability of the tested sentences. The interaction of certain factors, especially the three-way interaction among C, P, and V, was of particular interest to this thesis. According to the ANOVA, the three-way interaction among S, C, and P as well as that among S, C, and V, and the four-way interaction among all the factors considered did not contribute significantly to the acceptability of sentences, i.e., the combination of S and C with any of the remaining factors statistically had no significant contribution to acceptability. On the other hand, the CxPxV interaction turned out to be highly important in determining the acceptability of a particular sentence and is illustrated by the graphs in Figures 4.7., 4.8. and 4.9. A somewhat less important main effect was C. The less important interactions included: CxS, CxP, and CxV.

4.2.1. Main Effects

Subject

The S taken separately contributed significantly to acceptability. Particularly interesting is the overall differentiating judgement of subjects on the acceptability of sentences. S_6 rated the highest number of sentences as acceptable while S_3 rated the highest number of sentences as unacceptable. The judgement of four subjects was above the mean value and the judgement of the remaining three was below it. The latter group included two female informants and two informants from Ukraine. Two out of these three informants had been previously exposed to and involved in the linguistics-related work. All four subjects who rated sentences above the mean value had no linguistic background and three of them were males.

Verb root

The V as a main effect also contributed significantly to acceptability. Prefixed secondary imperfectives formed from *delit'* and *pet'* were extremely poorly rated, i.e., considerably below the mean value, by all seven subjects in all three contexts and in combination with all prefixes. The verb root *delit'*[4] received the overall lowest acceptability. All the remaining V received an acceptability rating above the mean value with *gruzit'* having the overall highest acceptability across all P and C.

Prefix

The P factor as a main effect was also significant. Three out of four P were rated with acceptability below the mean value. Only the zero prefix was ranked as highly acceptable, thus indicating that for the six verbs investigated in the experiment preference is given to simplex imperfective verbs over derived imperfective verbs. It is the only prefix (or non-prefix) with an acceptability rating above the mean value. The prefix *raz-* was most poorly rated across all C and in combination with all P.

Context

The C was the factor that taken independently contributed the least to the acceptability of sentences even though it was still significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. C_1 (the progressive) and C_2 (the durative) were rated above the mean value, with C_2 having the highest acceptability, while C_3 (the iterative) was rated below it.

4.2.2. Interactions

The interactions among different factors are of particular importance to this investigation and are discussed below.

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[4] Verb roots will be cited throughout the text in infinitive forms.

Table 4.1.

Analysis of Variance

Source	Sum of Square	Degree of Freedom	Mean Square	Probability
Mean	4379.1677	1	4379.16766	*0.0000
S	66.9643	6	11.16071	*0.0000
V	110.9216	5	22.18433	*0.0000
P	66.6538	3	22.21792	*0.0000
C	4.8472	2	2.42361	*0.0319
SC	6.2500	12	0.52083	*0.0228
SV	45.6548	30	1.52183	*0.0000
SP	22.6865	18	1.26036	*0.0000
VC	12.3671	10	1.23671	*0.0002
PC	3.4385	6	0.57308	*0.0160
VP	208.1855	15	13.87903	*0.0000
SCP	6.7421	36	0.18728	0.8893
SCV	17.9254	60	0.29921	0.2202
SPV	72.2659	90	0.80295	*0.0000
CPV	**36.2044**	**30**	**1.20681**	***0.0000**
SCPV	41.1984	180	0.22888	0.8497

4.2.2.1. Two-way Interactions

The interactions that were most significant to acceptability included: SxP, SxV, and PxV. The remaining interactions, all involving C, such as SxC, PxC, VxC, were found to be not as significant to acceptability. The interaction between S and C contributed the least to acceptability, which suggests that the combination of these two factors alone was not crucial in determining whether a sentence was or was not acceptable.

a) The SxC Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each C in relation to each S is illustrated in Figure 4.1. C_2, the durative context, received from the majority of the subjects (four out of seven) the highest ranking across all verb roots and prefixes, and it was rated as the second most acceptable context by three subjects. C_3 was the least acceptable context for all but one informant. C_1 was ranked second by four and first by two subjects. The SxC interaction shows that S_1, S_4 and S_7 were the most severe in their rating while S_6 had the highest approval of stimuli sentences. Four subjects, S_1, S_5, S_6, and S_7, exhibited consistency in their rating, i.e., the differences between the acceptability values for each C were slight. Distinct differences in acceptability for individual contexts were found with S_2, who rated C_3 significantly lower than the two remaining C, S_3, who rated C_2 significantly higher than the remaining two C, and S_4, for whom the differences between acceptability of all three C were most apparent.

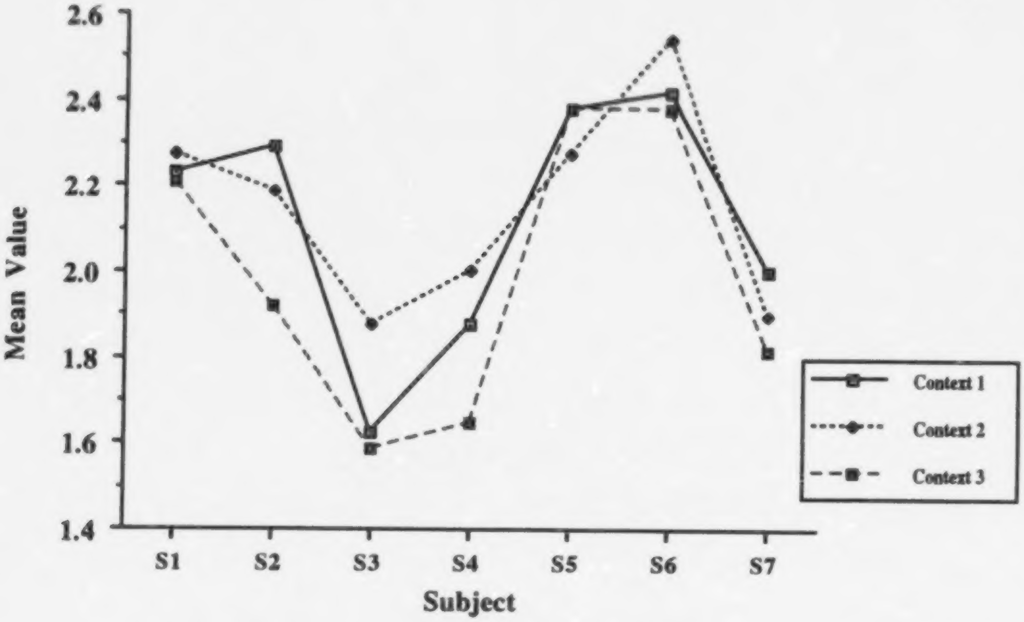

Fig. 4.1. The interaction between S and C

b) The SxV Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each V in relation to each S is shown in Figure 4.2. The two verb roots that received the poorest acceptability from all the subjects were *delit'* and *pet'*. The remaining four verb roots were given a high acceptability only by four informants: S_1, S_2, S_5 and S_6. The forms of the verb *gruzit'* were rated as highly acceptable by S_1 and S_2. The roots *lit'* and *pisat'* were rated even higher by S_5 and S_6, respectively. The acceptability pattern for the root *lit'* across all C and P was the least consistent among all verb roots. While S_5 rated it as highly acceptable, S_3 and S_4 rated it as close to unacceptable. The differences between the acceptability values for the roots *delit'* and *pet'*, and the remaining four V were quite substantial, in particular for S_1, S_2, S_5, and S_6. The least noticeable differences were found in case of S_3. Although in the ANOVA the contribution of the SxV interaction to acceptability proved to be significant, the differences between unprefixed verbs and their prefixed equivalents are masked in this interaction. Hence, as will be seen below, the acceptability pattern in the CxVxP interaction might change considerably.

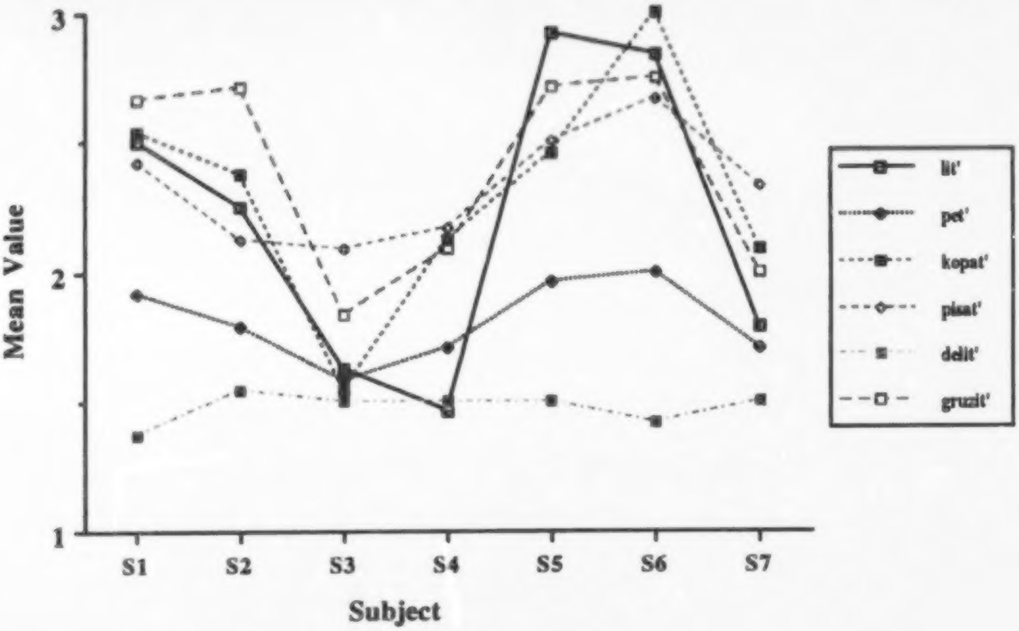

Fig. 4.2. The interaction between S and V

c) The SxP Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each P in relation to each S is illustrated in Figure 4.3. The SxP interaction is among three most important two-way interactions to this investigation. The acceptability of P is closely connected with the acceptability of particular verb roots to which they are attached. Here, the acceptability pattern is very similar for each P, i.e., the order of acceptability for P is generally the same in case of each S. The zero prefix was given the highest acceptability by all seven informants with the lowest acceptability assigned by S_3 and the highest by S_5. This suggests that in the two-way interaction between P and V, unprefixed simplex imperfectives may be rated higher than their prefixed derived imperfective counterparts. The prefix *raz-* was rated as the last acceptable by five subjects and as the second last acceptable by one subject. The prefix *pere-* was given the lowest acceptability by S_7. The difference between the acceptability of unprefixed and that of prefixed verbs is quite substantial.

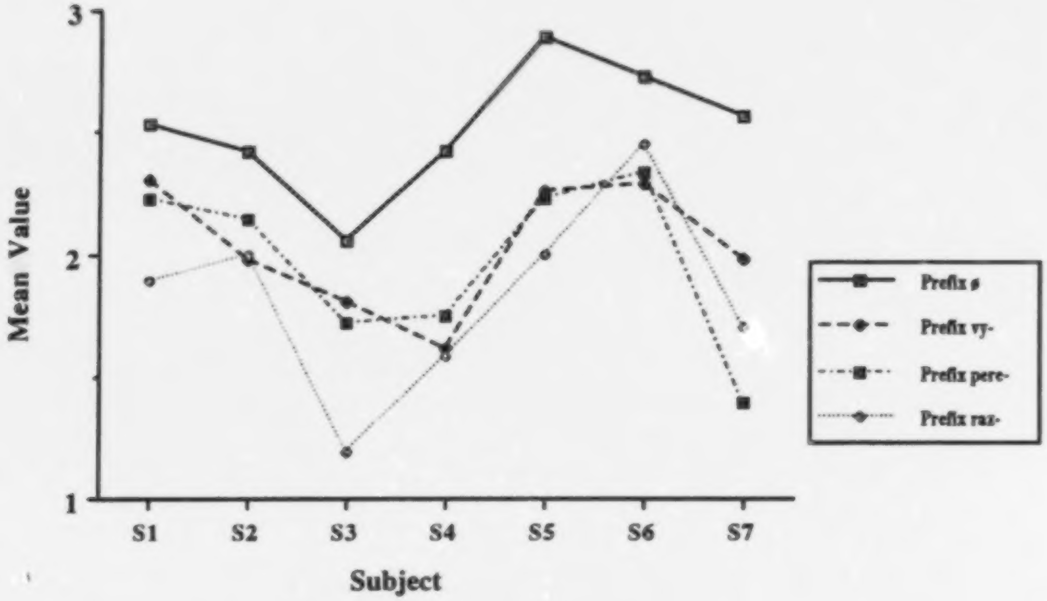

Fig. 4.3. The interaction between S and P

d) The VxC Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each V in relation to each C is illustrated in Figure 4.4. It is evident from the graph that in this two-way interaction the verb roots *delit'* and *pet'* received the lowest acceptability. The root *delit'* was given the lowest rating across all three C. The verb root *pet'* was rated slightly higher though still considerably below the remaining four V. All verb roots but one - *gruzit'* which was highly acceptable in the progressive context - were slightly more acceptable in the durative context than in the remaining two contexts. In general, the differences in acceptability for any given V across the three contexts were slight (with the exception of *gruzit'*), although individual V were rated very differently by subjects.

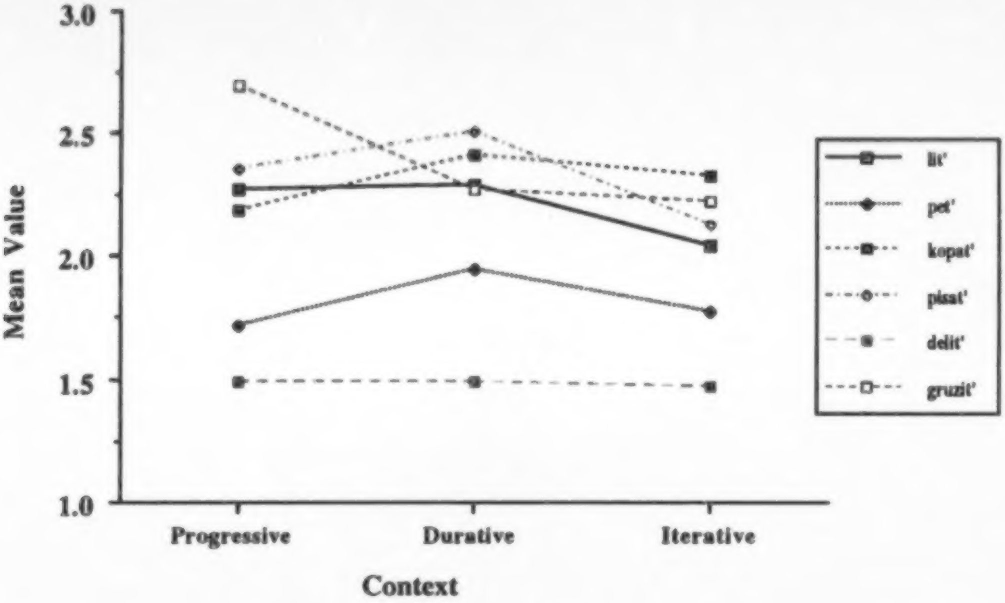

Fig. 4.4. The interaction between V and C

e) The PxC Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each P in relation to each C is shown in Figure 4.5. This two-way interaction probably reflects the predominant usage of primary imperfective verbs over the derived imperfective verbs in everyday speech. It is clear from the graph that the zero prefix, and, consequently, unprefixed imperfective verbs, received the highest acceptability in all contexts. The zero prefix was rated as more acceptable in the durative than in the progressive context and less acceptable in the iterative than in the progressive context. The same pattern of acceptability is found for the prefix *pere-*. The prefix *vy-* was the most acceptable of the three prefixes with the highest acceptability in the progressive context. The prefix *raz-* was rated with the overall lowest acceptability and it is the only prefix which exhibits a higher acceptability (though probably not statistically significant) in the iterative context. In general, the most important observation from this interaction is the large difference between the acceptability values for the zero prefix and those for the remaining P.

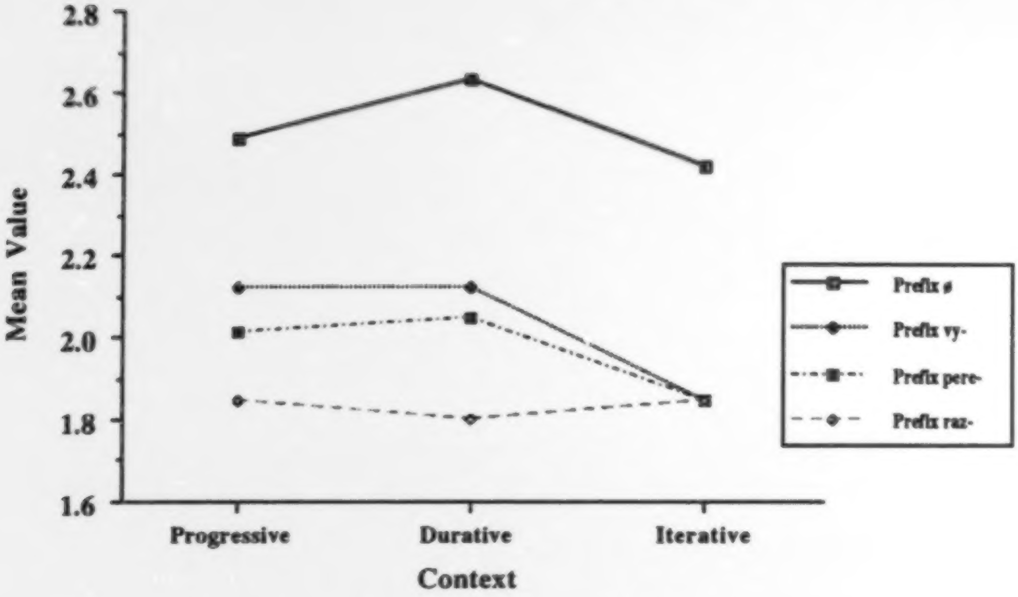

Fig. 4.5. The interaction between P and C

f) The VxP Interaction

The acceptability pattern for each V in relation to each P is illustrated in Figure 4.6. The VxP interaction is among the three most significant two-way interactions contributing to acceptability. It reflects the compatibility of each V with the prefixes selected for the experiment.[5] The verb roots *delit'* and *pet'* (except *raspevat'*) exhibited a strong tendency to be preferred as unprefixed simplex imperfective verbs, while the verb root *lit'* was rated higher as a prefixed secondary imperfective verb. *Pisat'* also showed a slight tendency towards preference in the prefixed forms with the exception of *raspisyvat'*. The remaining two V, *kopat'* and *gruzit'*, showed a preference for occurring as simplex imperfective verbs. From the point of view of P, the zero prefix was the most compatible, i.e., it received a high acceptability in combination with all V, again indicating that unprefixed imperfectives are given a higher acceptability than prefixed imperfectives.

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[5] By extension this also reflects the derivability of secondary imperfectives. In the later section of this chapter, I discuss the VxP interaction in relation to each of the three contexts which, in turn, reflects the derivability of secondary imperfective verbs as well as the differences in their acceptability in specific contexts.

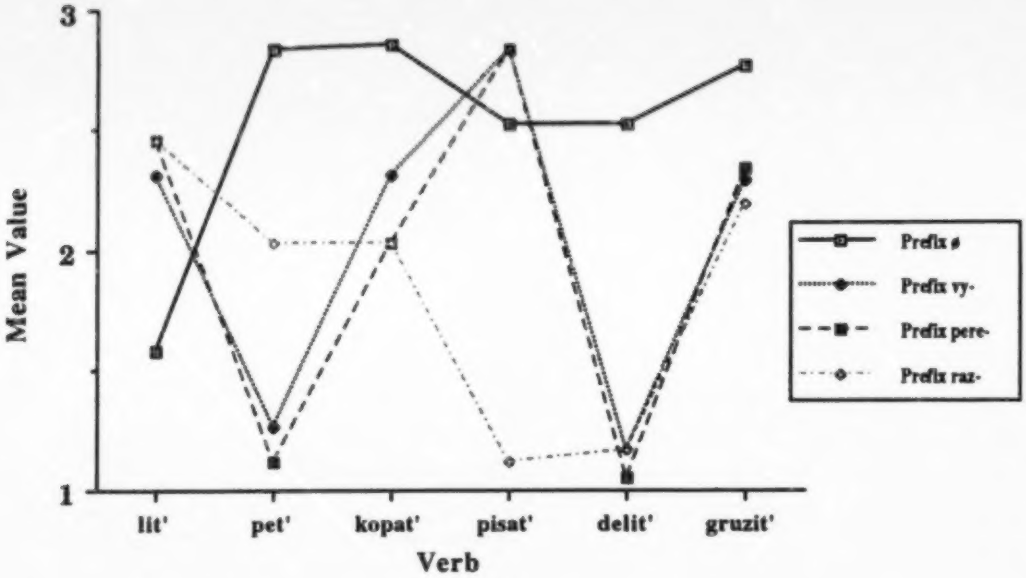

Fig. 4.6. The interaction between V and P

4.2.2.2. Three-way Interactions

Altogether four three-way interactions were analyzed: SxCxP, SxCxV, SxPxV, and CxPxV. Only the last two contributed to acceptability while the first two had no effect upon it. Although, as a main effect, Context (progressive, durative, and iterative) contributed the least to the acceptability of sentences of the experimental questionnaire, its interaction with Verb roots and Prefixes (CxPxV) was of great importance. The significance of this high-order three-way interaction is of particular importance to this thesis since it bears most strongly on the hypotheses regarding the cooccurrence restrictions for V and P in relation to C. For this reason it will be the main focus of our discussion. In this section, each of the three contexts in the CxPxV interaction is discussed separately.

a) The Interaction between V and P in C_1

C_1, the progressive context, was ranked as the most acceptable across all verb roots and prefixes by two out of seven informants, and as the second most acceptable by four informants. However, these overall generalized results mask the results obtained for particular prefix-verb root combinations. The acceptability pattern for C_1 in relation to all V and all P is illustrated in Figure 4.7.

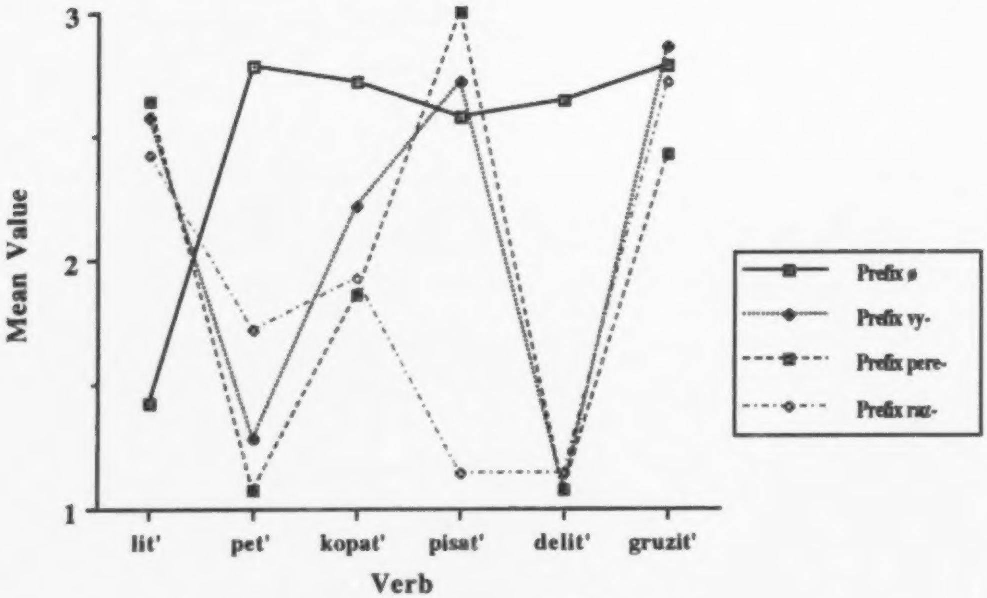

Fig. 4.7. The interaction between V and P in C1.

The following patterns were observed in the interaction between V and P in the progressive context:

(1) The sentences with the unprefixed imperfective verbs received an overall higher acceptability ranking than those with prefixed imperfective verbs.

(2) Among sentences with unprefixed simplex imperfective verbs the highest acceptability was given to the verb *pet'*.

(3) The three unprefixed verbs *pet', kopat',* and *delit'* received a higher acceptability than their prefixed correlates, thus showing a tendency to be preferred with the zero prefix, i.e., as unprefixed simplex imperfectives, in progressive contexts. The verb roots *pet'* and *delit'*, in particular, were rated as highly unacceptable in combination with all the prefixes, thus exhibiting a strong preference to occur as simplex verbs.

(4) Among sentences with prefixed derived imperfective verbs (prefixes *vy-, pere-, raz-*), although a perfect score of three was given to the root *pisat'* combined with the prefix *pere-* for the progressive, the overall highest acceptability was given to roots *lit'* and *gruzit'* regardless of the attached prefix. This is due to the fact that *pisat'* was rated as highly unacceptable in combination with the prefix *raz-*.

(5) The verb root *gruzit'* exhibited a high acceptability as both simplex and derived imperfective in this context.

(6) The verb root *lit'* revealed a strong preference to occur as a prefixed verb.

(8) The prefixes *vy-* and *pere-* showed similar acceptability patterns in combination with all verb roots.

b) The Interaction between V and P in C2

C_2, the durative context, was rated as the most acceptable context across all verb roots and prefixes by four out of seven informants, and as the second highest by three informants. It is thus the context which was given the overall highest acceptability for all verb roots and prefixes employed in the experiment. The acceptability pattern for C_2 in relation to all V and all P is shown in Figure 4.8.

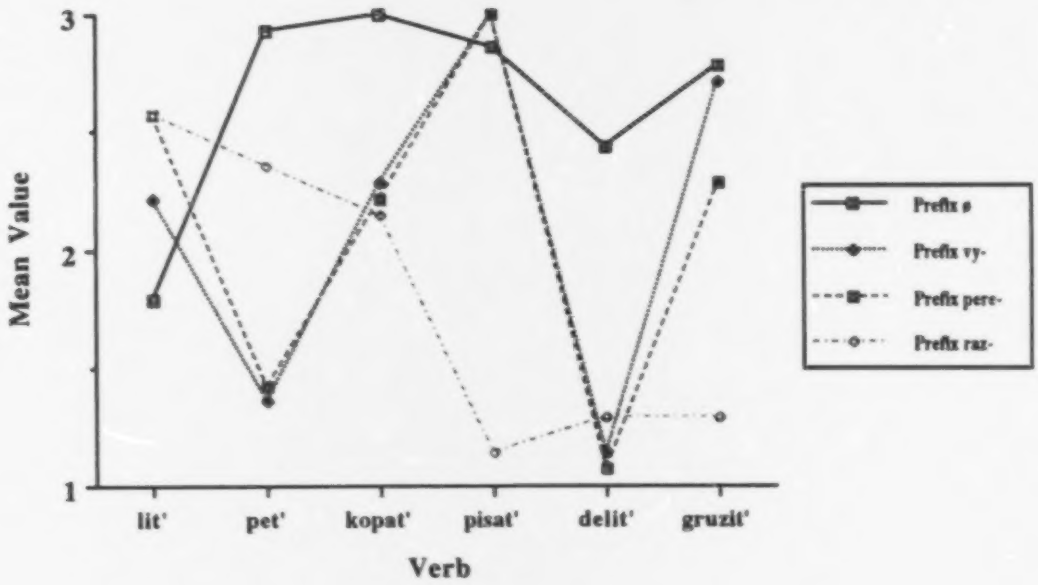

Fig. 4.8. The interaction between V and P in C2.

The observed patterns of the interaction between V and P in the durative context may be summarized by the following points:

(1) The sentences with the unprefixed imperfective verbs received an overall higher acceptability ranking than those with prefixed imperfective verbs.

(2) Four (*pet', kopat', delit'* and *gruzit'*) out of seven unprefixed verbs received a higher acceptability than their prefixed counterparts, and thus showed a preference to occur as simplex imperfectives in the durative reading.

(3) The verb root *delit'* was ranked as highly unacceptable in combination with all the prefixes, thus revealing a strong preference to be employed as a simplex verb for the durative reading.

(4) The verb root *lit'* was rated highly acceptable when combined with any of the investigated prefixes, showing a strong preference to occur as a prefixed verb for the durative.

(5) The verb root *pet'* was rated as highly unacceptable in conjunction with all but one prefix (*raz-*).

(6) Among sentences with unprefixed simplex imperfective verbs the highest acceptability was given to the verb *kopat'* which received a perfect acceptability score of three.

(7) Among sentences with prefixed imperfective verbs the highest, perfect acceptability score was given to the verb *pisat'* in combination with two prefixes, *vy-* and *pere-*

(8) The prefixes *vy-* and *pere-*, as in C_1, showed a similar pattern of acceptability across all verb roots.

c) The Interaction between V and P in C_3

C_3, the iterative context, was ranked as the least acceptable across all verb roots and prefixes by six out of seven informants. It is thus the context which was given the overall lowest acceptability for all verbs and prefixes employed in the experiment. The acceptability pattern for C_3 in relation to all V and all P is shown in Figure 4.9.

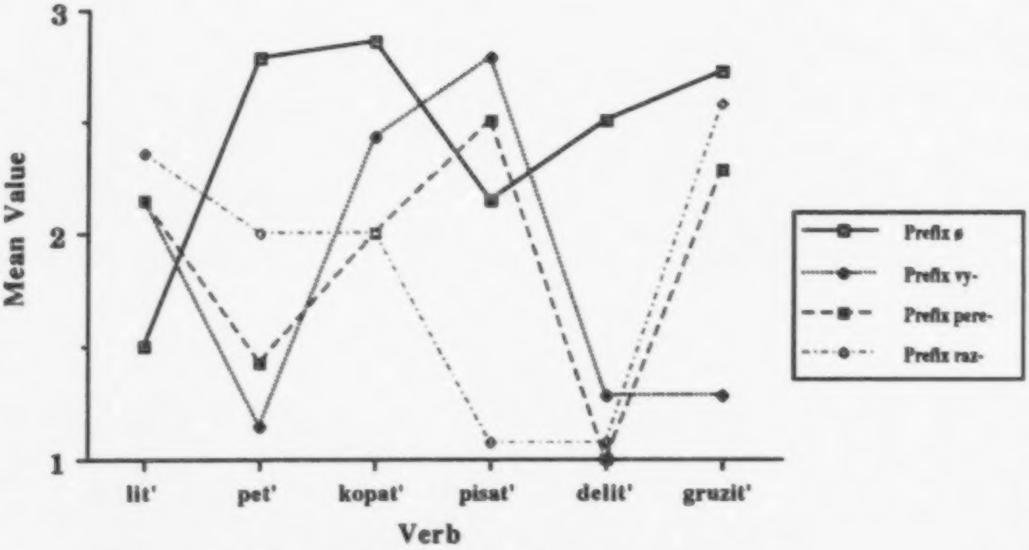

Fig. 4.9. The interaction between V and P in C3.

The observed patterns of the interaction between V and P in the iterative context may be summarized as follows:

(1) The sentences with the unprefixed imperfective verbs received an overall higher acceptability ranking than those with prefixed imperfective verbs.

(2) Four (*pet', kopat', delit'* and *gruzit'*) out of seven unprefixed verbs received a higher acceptability than their prefixed equivalents, thus showing a preference to occur as simplex imperfectives for iterative contexts.

(3) The verb root *delit'* received the lowest acceptability in combination with all prefixes.

(4) The verb root *lit'* revealed, as in C_2, a strong preference to occur as a prefixed verb.

(5) The verb root *pisat'*, as in C_2, was rated as unlikely to cooccur with the prefix *raz-*

(6) In this context, none of the verbs received the perfect acceptability score of three.

(7) The acceptability pattern, unlike in C_1 and C_2, varied from prefix to prefix across the various verb roots, therefore it lacked the consistency observed for C_1 and C_2.

d) Summary

Although the VxP interaction differed from context to context, a number of important similarities have been observed and they may be summarized by the following points:

(1) The acceptability patterns for all the unprefixed verbs and verbs prefixed in *pere-* were most consistent and similar in all three contexts.

(2) The acceptability patterns for verbs prefixed in *vy-* were also similar in all three contexts, except for *vygruzhat'* in the iterative reading where it received a lower acceptability than in the remaining two contexts.

(3) The acceptability patterns for verbs prefixed in *raz-* were the least consistent across all contexts where each verb received a significantly different acceptability value in each context.

(4) Three verb roots (*pet', kopat', delit'*) showed a strong preference to occur as unprefixed verbs in all three contexts.

(5) The verb root *lit'* exhibited a strong tendency to be employed as a prefixed verb in all three contexts.

(6) The prefixed verb *raspisyvat'* was given a low acceptability across all three contexts.

(7) The verb root *gruzit'* was highly acceptable as both prefixed and unprefixed only in the progressive context.

(8) The verb root *delit'* in combination with all prefixes was rated as unacceptable in all the contexts, with an extremely low acceptability value assigned especially in the iterative reading.

(9) Only one verb root (*kopat'*) was given a relatively high acceptability values as both unprefixed and prefixed verb when employed in all three investigated contexts.

In summary, we may conclude that the acceptability values for Prefix-Verb root combinations did not differ significantly from context to context. It implies that there is no one, fixed context in which the two morphological forms of the imperfective aspect occur in Russian. Furthermore, it appears that the existence of the verbs *pet'* and *delit'* in the selected prefixed imperfective forms was rejected, thus indicating that secondary imperfective verbs from these two unprefixed verbs are not accepted in sentences of the type constructed in this experiment.

4.2.2.3. Four-way Interaction

One four-way interaction, SxCxVxP, was recorded and the ANOVA rated its contribution to acceptability as not significant. Therefore, the SxCxVxP interaction will not be discussed here.

4.3. Summary

While providing us with interesting generalizations, the main effects as well as the two-way interactions do not reveal the nuances introduced by their interaction with the remaining factors. On the other hand, three- and four-way interactions, while presenting detailed results, mask the overall effects obtained from the lower-level interactions. Therefore, in order to obtain the complete results of this investigation, all the significant main effects and interactions need to be taken into consideration.

The ANOVA showed that the main effects and interactions most significant to acceptability included: S, P, V, SxP, SxV, PxV, SxPxV and CxPxV. The less important factors included one main effect: C, and three two-way interactions: SxC, CxP, and CxV. Two three-way interactions, SxCxP and SxCxV, and the only four-way interaction did not contribute to acceptability at all. The three-way interaction among C, P and V was of utmost importance to this investigation and, according to the ANOVA, it contributed significantly to acceptability.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the experiment undertaken in this work dealt only with six selected Russian verbs, it nonetheless has serious implications for the hypotheses proposed in the third chapter. In this chapter I will relate the overall results of the experiment to the hypotheses. I also discuss here possible problems associated with the experiment, future directions of development of the language, and make suggestions for future research.

5.1. Hypotheses

Hypothesis (1): The range of meanings of simplex imperfective verbs is broader than that of derived imperfective verbs.

The results of the experiment strongly support the first hypothesis tested in this investigation (see Fig. 4.5.). The wider range of meanings implies more universal usage in a variety of contexts and according to the ANOVA, the acceptability of contexts with primary imperfectives was considerably higher than those with derived imperfectives, thus indicating that simplex imperfectives may indeed be employed in a wider variety of contexts - progressive, durative, and iterative. The experiment also indicated that the usage of secondary imperfectives is limited to very few specific contexts. This is most likely due to the highly concrete meanings introduced in the secondary imperfective verbs by the prefixes which restricted their usage in a number of contexts provided by the experimental questionnaire. The results of the experiment showed that the meanings of the two morphological forms of the imperfective aspect differ to such an extent that the derived imperfectives can not replace their simplex correlates in the majority of contexts. This supports Spagis' (1969:9) observation that unprefixed verbs have more meanings associated with them than prefixed verbs as well as Forsyth's (1970:41, 349) claim that the simplex imperfectives exhibit a potential for a great variety of meanings which are realized only in appropriate contexts while the usage and meanings of secondary imperfectives are very restricted contextually.

Hypothesis (2): The iterative constitutes the basic context for the secondary imperfective verbs denoting telic situations, viz. accomplishments as well as achievements .

The results of the experiment contradict the generally accepted view of the iterative as the most characteristic context for secondary imperfectives (see Fig. 4.4.). Furthermore, the preliminary mathematical calculations confirmed by the ANOVA showed that the differences in acceptability between progressive, durative and iterative contexts, in which derived imperfectives were employed, were statistically insignificant to claim that any particular context is the primary context for the secondary imperfective verbs. The iterative context having been given the lowest acceptability among the three contexts proved to be the least frequent context of the experimental questionnaire for secondary imperfectives. This suggests that the original meaning of the suffix *-va-* - that of repetition - has been lost and that it acquired a strongly imperfectivizing, i.e., inflectional function. The progressive constituted the second highest acceptable context for the secondary imperfective verbs and the general patterns of acceptability across various verb roots and prefixes was very similar for both durative and progressive contexts. This supports the views of some linguists who regard the meaning of progressivity as a derivative of durativity (Comrie 1976).

Hypothesis (3): The progressive constitutes the basic context for the simplex imperfective verbs.

According to the ANOVA, the progressive - regarded by the majority of linguists as not only the most frequent reading of the simplex imperfectives but also as their inherent meaning - was not the most highly rated context for basic imperfectives employed in the experimental questionnaire (see Fig. 4.4.). On the contrary, it was the durative context, as in the case of secondary imperfectives, which was given the highest acceptability, although all readings were quite acceptable. The experiment contradicts the generally accepted view on a strong correlation between progressivity and imperfective aspect. The ANOVA proved that progressivity is not the basic reading for primary or secondary imperfective verbs. Rather it supports the hypothesis put forward by some linguists on the dependence of the progressive reading on the contextual factors such as adverbs (Forsyth 1970; Spagis 1969) and Forsyth's (1970:349) claim that it is impossible to justify emphasis on any of the functions of the imperfective aspect as essential and inherent in imperfective forms themselves.

Hypothesis (4): There is a tendency in Russian to eliminate simplex imperfective verbs.

The findings of this investigation contradict the above hypothesis (see Fig. 4.6.). The results of the experiment show clearly that the simplex imperfectives, with the exception of the verb *lit'*, are preferred over secondary imperfectives while occurring with the same direct object in the same adverbial contexts. This is closely connected to the first hypothesis which correctly predicted a broader range of meanings associated with simplex imperfectives, supporting Forsyth's claim that simplex verbs have a great potential for expressing a wide range of meanings. However, what he claims to be a possible reason for the elimination of simplex imperfectives, i.e., the vagueness of their meanings and, consequently, their more universal applicability, could just as easily explain the observed elimination of suffixal imperfectives whose usage and meanings, according to Forsyth himself, are very restricted. Thus, there is evidence for the elimination of secondary imperfectives in Russian. This claim is also supported by the standard dictionaries of the Russian language which, if they do list secondary imperfectives, give examples of their usage usually taken from the Russian literary tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. More recent dictionaries include fewer secondary imperfectives and examples from modern twentieth century literature are still scarce.

5.2. Theoretical Observations

The major finding of this thesis is the startling and strong three-way interaction among Verb roots, Prefixes and Contexts. We may conclude that it is impossible to make any global generalizations as to the behavior of verbs or prefixes in any of the experimental contexts because of their great variability, i.e., there is no consistency of acceptability for any combination of prefix or group of prefixes with any verb root or group of roots in any of the three contexts.

The Vendlerian semantic typology of verbs was used throughout this thesis since some of Vendler's followers have made generalizations with respect to the contexts in which verbs denoting *accomplishments* and *achievements* usually occur. *Accomplishment* verbs are said to be used in the progressive and durative contexts, while *achievement* verbs in the iterative context only. The verbs employed in the experimental questionnaire fall into either the *accomplishment* or *achievement* category. However, each verb in combination with a different prefix behaved differently, and neither the progressive nor the iterative context received the overall highest acceptability ranking for any given class of verbs. The prefixed verb *delit'*, closest of all verbs to an *achievement* verb, was not acceptable in the iterative context and the typically *accomplishment* verb *raspevat'* was not acceptable in the progressive or durative contexts. This suggests that the most typical and acceptable context for semantic classes of verbs can not be specified, despite the claim of some linguists (e.g. Russell 1985) that *achievements* are typically given the iterative reading. It can only be determined whether an individual verb is acceptable in a particular context when the interaction of the verb root with the prefix together with the context are taken into account, i.e., one and the same verb with the same prefix may be acceptable in one context (e.g., *razgruzhat'* in the progressive) and not acceptable in another (e.g., *razgruzhat'* in the durative); one and the same prefix attached to different verb roots employed in the same context may be given different acceptability ranking (e.g., *vypisyvat'* which was highly acceptable and *vygruzhat'* which was close to unacceptable, both in the iterative); one and the same verb root employed in the same context but prefixed with two different prefixes may also be rated with completely different acceptability values (e.g., *vygruzhat'* rated as highly acceptable and *razgruzhat'* rated with a low acceptability, both in the durative). Consequently, it is impossible to determine the acceptability of secondary imperfectives since they are the sum of all the meanings of the three individual factors as well as the interaction of these factors. Any generalizations made will not be valid unless the total predication is looked at on individual basis. This takes us back to Townsend's claim, quoted in the Introduction that

> everything in language is context-bound, and grammatical categories are no exception. Aspect usage, . . . in particular, is affected by all circumstances applying to the utterance, both nonlinguistic and linguistic. (1985:286)

Given the above, we suspect that the acceptability judgements of the informants were not based on grammaticality of utterances but on their pragmatics. This was supported by a post hoc analysis in which informants stated that in broader contexts the majority of the sentences of the experimental questionnaire would be more acceptable. The fact that the acceptability judgements were seemingly not based on grammaticality has strong implications for aspect as a lexical rather than as a grammatical category. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, some linguists insist on separating the grammatical category of aspect from the lexical (or sub-lexical) category of Aktionsarten. In our cases, however, the two appear to be so closely connected that it is impossible to separate them. Aspect is closely connected to and almost inseparable from the semantics of the verb root which interacts with other lexical items such as the prefix, direct object, and adverbial. It absorbs some of these lexical meanings and is therefore no longer a purely grammatical category. Thus, our earlier definition of aspect as a grammatical category needs to be modified in order to account for these interactions.

Although the pairing of verbs does not constitute the focus of this thesis, it should be addressed here. The findings of this investigation have strong implications on this long-disputed issue. There has been over a century of tradition and agreement on recognizing pairs consisting of a prefixed perfective and a secondary imperfective as the most acceptable of aspectual pairs. This should be questioned in view of the data gathered from our experiment. The high acceptability of some unprefixed verbs, such as *delit'* and *pet'*, with the simultaneous low acceptability of their possible secondary correlates in all contexts suggests that for these verbs only the unprefixed imperfectives enter the aspectual relationship. Similarly, some unprefixed verbs, such as *gruzit'*, may be considered the aspectual partner for all three prefixed perfectives in all contexts. However, in the progressive context, they are paralleled by all prefixed imperfective forms of *gruzit'* which may equally enter the aspectual relationship. In the durative context, however, *razgruzhat'* will not be the aspectual counterpart to the prefixed perfective *razgruzit'* due to its low acceptability rating. In the iterative context, *vygruzhat'* will most likely be excluded from the aspectual relationship. It becomes evident that the VxPxC interaction might have a significant impact on the pairing of verbs. If acceptability judgements were indicative of pairing, the pairs consisting of a prefixed perfective and a prefixed imperfective, and pairs consisting of a prefixed perfective and an unprefixed imperfective, as well as aspectual triplets consisting of a prefixed perfective and both imperfective forms, are all acceptable to native informants.

5.3. The Experiment : A Critique

A number of problems related to the experiment need to be discussed since they might have affected to a certain degree the results of this study. On the one hand, they are associated with the selection of Russian informants, on the other hand, with the selection of verb roots, prefixes, and adverbial contexts.

The results of the experiment could have been more reliable if the number of informants had been increased, since a relatively small number of informants may not be representative of the entire speech community. In addition, subjects should constitute as homogeneous a group as possible. Preferably, the informants should consist of adult Russian speakers from the same dialect area of mainland Russia, with a specific level of education and socio-linguistic class, representing a given sex whose age does not differ more than ten to fifteen years so that they represent one generation.

The fundamental guideline followed in the establishment of contexts was to employ highly frequent verb roots combined with highly frequent prefixes denoting spatio-temporal relationships in transitive contexts in the past tense. The contexts were kept simple and short in order to decrease the time needed to complete the experimental task as well as to maintain the structural uniformity of one hundred and forty-four sentences. The post hoc analysis revealed that in a number of cases informants ranked the sentences as questionable because the context was too narrow. They stated that in broader linguistic contexts these sentences would have been acceptable. In other instances, they ranked sentences as unacceptable if they were not familiar with the particular use of a given verb, especially in the case of prefixed verbs *razdeljat'* and *perepevat'* . Hence, as mentioned earlier, pragmatics play an important role in acceptability and should be taken into consideration when choosing experimental contexts, i.e., only (prefix-) verb-direct object combinations which reflect normal every-day life situations should be employed. However, the danger here would be that the some contexts could not be used for other verb-prefix combinations and the parallelism of experimental stimuli would be lost.

Given the limitations of this study, it would not have been possible to design an experiment which would account for all the above.

5.4. Future Research

The findings of this thesis, especially those contradicting the generally accepted beliefs on the functions and meanings of the imperfective aspect in Russian, show that a great number of issues concerning the meanings, and the usage as well as the derivation of secondary imperfectives have yet to be investigated.

The challenge for future research lies in finding general criteria for determining which form of the Russian imperfective aspect, i.e. unprefixed or prefixed, is preferred for a particular context. The

ANOVA performed on the data collected from the experiment showed that the acceptability of the imperfective verbs in a particular context varied from verb to verb and prefix to prefix. While one prefixed imperfective received a high acceptability ranking, e.g., *perelivat'*, in all three contexts, another verb prefixed in the same prefix, e.g., *perepevat'*, was given an extremely low acceptability ranking across all contexts. I concluded that this was ultimately the result of the lexical or pragmatic interaction of the elements contributing to those utterances. Future research should thus focus on specifying more clearly those pragmatic or lexical factors which dictate the acceptability of one verb or prefix over the other in a particular context. It may also be that, as suggested earlier, we are dealing with a language change situation, where secondary imperfectives are being lost (or gained) at the expense of simplex imperfectives. This could make the study of secondary imperfective verbs in Russian a very fruitful area for diachronic or longitudinal research.

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APPENDIX

лить
1. Когда я вошла, девочка лила сок.
2. Девочка всегда лила сок.
3. Девочка долго лила сок.

4. Когда я вошла, девочка лила соки.
5. Девочка всегда лила соки.
6. Девочка долго лила соки.

выливать
7. Когда я вошла, девочка выливала сок.
8. Девочка всегда выливала сок.
9. Девочка долго выливала сок.

10. Когда я вошла, девочка выливала соки.
11. Девочка всегда выливала соки.
12. Девочка долго выливала соки.

переливать
13. Когда я вошла, девочка переливала сок.
14. Девочка всегда переливала сок.
15. Девочка долго переливала сок.

16. Когда я вошла, девочка переливала соки.
17. Девочка всегда переливала соки.
18. Девочка долго переливала соки.

разливать
19. Когда я вошла, девочка разливала сок.
20. Девочка всегда разливала сок.
21. Девочка долго разливала сок.

22. Когда я вошла, девочка разливала соки.
23. Девочка всегда разливала соки.
24. Девочка долго разливала соки.

петь

25. Когда он вошёл, бабушка пела колыбельную.
26. Бабушка каждый день пела колыбельную.
27. Бабушка долго пела колыбельную.

28. Когда он вошёл, бабушка пела колыбельные.
29. Бабушка каждый день пела колыбельные.
30. Бабушка долго пела колыбельные.

выпевать

31. Когда он вошёл, бабушка выпевала колыбельную.
32. Бабушка каждый день выпевала колыбельную.
33. Бабушка долго выпевала колыбельную.

34. Когда он вошёл, бабушка выпевала колыбельные.
35. Бабушка каждый день выпевала колыбельные.
36. Бабушка долго выпевала колыбельные.

перепевать

37. Когда он вошёл, бабушка перепевала колыбельную.
38. Бабушка каждый день перепевала колыбельную.
39. Бабушка долго перепевала колыбельную.

40. Когда он вошёл, бабушка перепевала колыбельные.
41. Бабушка каждый день перепевала колыбельные.
42. Бабушка долго перепевала колыбельные.

распевать

43. Когда он вошёл, бабушка распевала колыбельную.
44. Бабушка каждый день распевала колыбельную.
45. Бабушка долго распевала колыбельную.

46. Когда он вошёл, бабушка распевала колыбельные.
47. Бабушка каждый день распевала колыбельные.
48. Бабушка долго распевала колыбельные.

копать

49. В тот момент он копал яму.
50. Он каждый день копал яму.
51. Он долго копал яму.

52. В тот момент он копал ямы.
53. Он каждый день копал ямы.
54. Он долго копал ямы.

выкапывать

55. В тот момент он выкапывал яму.
56. Он каждый день выкапывал яму.
57. Он долго выкапывал яму.

58. В тот момент он выкапывал ямы.
59. Он каждый день выкапывал ямы.
60. Он долго выкапывал ямы.

перекапывать

61. В тот момент он перекапывал яму.
62. Он каждый день перекапывал яму.
63. Он долго перекапывал яму.

64. В тот момент он перекапывал ямы.

65. Он каждый день перекапывал ямы.
66. Он долго перекапывал ямы.

раскапывать
67. В тот момент он раскапывал ямY.
68. Он каждый день раскапывал ямY.
69. Он долго раскапывал ямY.

70. В тот момент он раскапывал ямы.
71. Он каждый день раскапывал ямы.
72. Он долго раскапывал ямы.

писать
73. Когда я вошла, Yченик писал цитатY.
74. Yченик каждый день писал цитатY.
75. Yченик долго писал цитатY.

76. Когда я вошла, Yченик писал цитаты.
77. Yченик каждый день писал цитаты.
78. Yченик долго писал цитаты.

выписывать
79. Когда я вошла, Yченик выписывал цитатY.
80. Yченик каждый день выписывал цитатY.
81. Yченик долго выписывал цитатY.

82. Когда я вошла, Yченик выписывал цитаты.
83. Yченик каждый день выписывал цитаты.
84. Yченик долго выписывал цитаты.

переписывать
85. Когда я вошла, Yченик переписывал цитатY.
86. Yченик каждый день переписывал цитатY.
87. Yченик долго переписывал цитатY.

88. Когда я вошла, Yченик переписывал цитаты.
89. Yченик каждый день переписывал цитаты.
90. Yченик долго переписывал цитаты.

расписывать
91. Когда я вошла, Yченик расписывал цитатY.
92. Yченик каждый день расписывал цитатY.
93. Yченик долго расписывал циыатY.

94. Когда я вошла, Yченик расписывал цитаты.
95. Yченик каждый день расписывал цитаты.
96. Yченик долго расписывал цитаты.

делить
97. Когда я вошла, мама делила хлеб.
98. Мама всегда делила хлеб.
99. Мама долго делила хлеб.

100. Когда я вошла, мама делила хлебы.
101. Мама всегда делила хлебы.
102. Мама долго делила хлебы.

выделять
103. Когда я вошла, мама выделяла хлеб.
104. Мама всегда выделяла хлеб.
105. Мама долго выделяла хлеб.

106. Когда я вошла, мама выделяла хлебы.
107. Мама всегда выделяла хлебы.
108. Мама долго выделяла хлебы.

переделять
109. Когда я вошла, мама переделяла хлеб.
110. Мама всегда переделяла хлеб.
111. Мама долго переделяла хлеб.

112. Когда я вошла, мама переделяла хлебы.
113. Мама всегда переделяла хлебы.
114. Мама долго переделяла хлебы.

разделять
115. Когда я вошла, мама разделяла хлеб.
116. Мама всегда разделяла хлеб.
117. Мама долго разделяла хлеб.

118. Когда я вошла, мама разделяла хлебы.
119. Мама всегда разделяла хлебы.
120. Мама долго разделяла хлебы.

грузить
121. В тот момент он грузил товар.
122. Он каждый день грузил товар.
123. Он долго грузил товар.

124. В тот момент он грузил товары.
125. Он каждый день грузил товары.
126. Он долго грузил товары.

выгружать
127. В тот момент он выгружал товар.
128. Он каждый день выгружал товар.
129. Он долго выгружал товар.

130. В тот момент он выгружал товары.
131. Он каждый день выгружал товары.
132. Он долго выгружал товары.

перегружать
133. В тот момент он перегружал товар.
134. Он каждый день перегружал товар.
135. Он долго перегружал товар.

136. В тот момент он перегружал товары.

137. Он каждый день перегрYжал товары.
138. Он долго перегрYжал товары.

разгрYжать
139. В тот момент он разгрYжал товар.
140. Он каждый день разгрYжал товар.
141. Он долго разгрYжал товар.

142. В тот момент он разгрYжал товары.
143. Он каждый день разгрYжал товары.
144. Он долго разгрYжал товары.